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THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

THE *And D. W.*
TRAINING OF TEACHERS

AND OTHER

EDUCATIONAL PAPERS

BY

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P R E F A C E.

THE following papers, having been written on different occasions, contain inevitably some repetitions and do not offer a continuous or adequate treatment of any one Educational topic. They are also somewhat polemical in tone—a defect for which I would apologize were not the questions with which they deal still subjects of debate. In truth, it is simply because the various addresses and papers refer to still vexed questions that I have thought it desirable to reprint them.

S. S. L.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
January, 1882.

P.S.—I have to thank the Messrs. Longman for permission to reprint the paper on Montaigne and the article entitled "The House of Lords and Popular Education" which originally appeared in "Fraser's Magazine."

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THE TRAINING OF THE TEACHER.

BELL CHAIR OF THE THEORY, HISTORY, AND ART OF EDUCATION.*

THE first occupant of a Chair new to the Universities of Great Britain is placed in a somewhat peculiar position. It may be fairly expected of him not merely to correlate the new subject with the other studies of a University, but to vindicate for it a right to the promotion which it has obtained, to explain its bearing on the educational interests of the country at large, and to satisfy the sceptical as to its direct utility. Were I, however, to undertake to maintain a thesis so large, I should weary even the well-disposed listener, and probably fail after all to convince or convert the unfriendly. A broad treatment of the subject would involve me in a range of argument, fact, and illustration, so wide and varied, that I think it better to assume very much on the general question. I am entitled indeed to make large assumptions, if the educational movement of the last thirty-five years has had any genuineness and honesty in it ; if education

* Inaugural Address.

has been anything more than a pretext for political and ecclesiastical contention. It is not improbable, moreover, that by limiting my range of observation, and confining myself to the objections taken to the foundation of this particular Chair, while at the same time giving some indication of my own point of view with respect to the question of Education, I may do more than could be accomplished by a general treatment, to reconcile the hostile and the sceptical to this new event in educational history. But, first, a few words as to the foundation.

DR. ANDREW BELL was born in St. Andrews, in 1753. At the ancient University of that town he was distinguished in most subjects of study, but especially in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. After spending some years as a tutor in the Southern States of America, he returned to this country, took orders in the Church of England, and sailed for Madras. There, he was appointed to an army chaplaincy, and undertook, along with his other duties, the superintendence of the Military Male Orphan Asylum, which was instituted after his arrival in the Presidency. It was while devoting himself with singular earnestness and assiduity to the work of education in this hospital that he was driven, almost by the necessity of his position, to invent the system of mutual tuition with which his name will be ever associated. After Dr. Bell's return to this country he devoted himself to the dissemination of his system, being sustained in his

unceasing activity not a little by the rivalry of Joseph Lancaster. Out of the labours of the latter grew the British and Foreign School Society, and out of the labours of the former the National Society in connection with the Church of England.

The principle of mutual instruction of boys by boys was the discovery by which Dr. Bell hoped to regenerate the world. But in truth the invention and application of this method was not his sole merit. He was a genuine teacher, having quick sympathy with the nature of boys, and great readiness of resource in the schoolroom. Many of our established practices were first introduced by him, and some of his improvements are only now being adopted. My impression is that prior to his undertaking the charge of the Madras Orphan Asylum in 1789, it was not usual strictly to classify the pupils of a primary school; and we are all aware that it is only the other day that the leading schools of Scotland began to arrange their pupils in classes according to their progress, and that in some schools of high reputation (incredible as it may seem), classification on this basis has not even yet been attempted! I shall not on this occasion enter further into Dr. Bell's educational reforms, but content myself with saying that at present, and until better informed, I am disposed to regard him as the founder of the Art of Primary Education in this country, *as a conscious art*.

Dr. Bell destined his large fortune mainly for the foundation of specific Educational Institutions, the

residue to be applied to educational purposes, according to the discretion of his Trustees, enjoining on them always to have due regard to the promotion of his system. The interest of this money was for many years paid away in small grants to various schools throughout the country in connection with the Church of Scotland; but after the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act, in 1872, which made universal provision for schools, the Trustees, who at present are the Earl of Leven and Melville, Lord Kirkcaldie, and Mr. John Cook, W.S., resolved to employ a portion of the funds in their keeping for the purpose of instituting Chairs of Education in Edinburgh and St. Andrews, to be called the "Bell Chairs of the Theory, History, and Art of Education," imposing on the occupants the duty of expounding, in the course of their prelections, Bell's principles and system. They thereby fulfilled in the most effectual way, under existing circumstances, the objects which Dr. Bell had in view in originally constituting the trust. Certainly no one who has read the "Life of Dr. Bell," by Southey, will doubt that this resolution of the Trustees would have been in the highest degree pleasing to him. Almost with one voice the teaching profession have hailed the action of the Trustees as a great educational advance. It has been felt that the three gentlemen above named have conferred honour on a department of work which Dr. Bell delighted to honour. They have unquestionably done very much to promote education in Scotland, not only by raising

the work of the schoolmaster in public estimation, but also by attracting public attention to education as being not merely a question of national machinery for the institution of schools (essential though this undoubtedly is), but a question of principles and methods—in brief, of philosophy.

I can do no more on this occasion than make a merely passing allusion to the zealous efforts of the late Professor Pillans to do what the Bell Trustees have now accomplished.

A Chair of the Theory, History, and Art of Education having been instituted, we have now to ask what the objects of such a Chair are. There has been much misunderstanding with regard to these. Some are at a loss to know what there is to say on education within the walls of a University, and what the principles and history of that subject have to do with the schoolmaster's work. Others, who have not to be instructed on these points, dread the competition of an Education Chair with the existing Training Colleges. The latter class of objectors is the more important. They are at least aware that the necessity of training teachers in methods and in school organization is not a question to be now for the first time debated. They know that the question has been settled these thirty years by the combined intelligence of the Government of the country and of the Education Committees of the various Churches. The former class of objectors have nothing to urge against the

University training of teachers in the philosophy and methods of education, which they would not have been prepared with equal readiness and confidence to urge against the institution of the existing Training Colleges thirty years ago. Indeed, I am disposed to think that had the general question of the desirability of training teachers to their professional work been propounded thirty years ago for discussion on its own merits, it would not yet be settled in the affirmative. The Parliamentary Philistine, the "Church in danger" men, and above all (strange to say) a considerable proportion of those engaged in the work of teaching, would have been opposed to the introduction of any such novel idea in practical form. Many as are the evils of centralization, it is unquestionably to the centralizing action of the Committee of Privy Council that we owe the full recognition of the efforts which were being made thirty-five or forty years ago in London and Edinburgh to train teachers, and the consequent growth of the Training College system. The work was done *through* the Churches, and accordingly called forth no Church opposition, and as money was freely offered to all who desired training, the rest of the world readily acquiesced.

The effect of this action on the part of the Privy Council has been most beneficial. Almost all now recognize that there is an art of teaching and of school-keeping, and that teachers should be trained in that art. It is only among that class of teachers and professors who have never come into close contact with

the existing system of training that doubts and objections survive. Quietly, and almost unnoticed, a great new Institution has established itself in the United Kingdom, and has overpowered every possible theoretical objection to its existence by the practical benefits it has conferred on the country. It is therefore too late now to discuss the general question. The practical result is before us, and the occupation of teacher has been finally raised into a profession by requiring, as the condition of entering it, a professional discipline.

Notwithstanding many defects—and I suspect that even in our University system there are defects—the Training College system has been a success. The kind of work done in these institutions, and the extent to which they have taken their place as seminaries second only to the Universities themselves, would, if inquired into, astonish the few who have hitherto ignored their existence. I am also satisfied that the improvements which have taken place even in secondary instruction have been due largely, if not chiefly, to the indirect influence of the Training Colleges, although these exist for the training of Primary teachers alone. Every man connected with education must be so well informed on this the most important modern movement in educational history that to dwell longer on it would be superfluous. My purpose in referring to it at all is to limit the range of any argument which might naturally be expected from me on this occasion.

For, the necessity of training the future teacher not only in the subjects which he is afterwards to teach, but in the art which he is to profess, being once for all a settled matter, I am at liberty to confine my remarks to the narrower question of the training of those aspirants to the scholastic profession, who pass through the Universities. Those aspirants are either self-supporting or partly dependent on small bursaries gained in open competition, and their purpose is to prepare themselves for the higher class of Public Schools (which, in their upper departments, are in truth secondary schools), and for purely Secondary or Grammar Schools either in Scotland or other parts of the Empire. As it is at once evident that attending University classes instead of the classes of a Training College has no such great virtue in it as to enable University men to dispense with professional training more than their humbler fellow-teachers, it is superfluous to argue the point. It may be at once assumed that, as the schools for which they are preparing themselves, at least those in Scotland and the Colonies, comprehend within them at once primary and secondary instruction, the need of professional training, in the case of University students, is peculiarly great. Where are they to get this? They might be required to combine attendance at a Training College with attendance at the University for a degree; but this, though it might serve as a provisional arrangement, would not secure the end we seek. And why would this arrangement not secure

the end we seek? For this reason, and for no other, that a specialist Training College does not answer the same purposes as a University. The broader culture, the freer air, the higher aims of the latter, give to it an educational influence which specialist colleges can never exercise.

It is impossible within my present limits to elaborate this view of the question: it is familiar to all educated men. It would appear however that the moment we substitute a distinct practical purpose, such as the production of engineers, officers of the army, ministers of the church, as the exclusive aim of education, and arrange the whole machinery of an Institution to attain any one of these ends exclusively, the mental life of the student becomes at once narrowed, and education in the higher sense disappears altogether. We all acknowledge this truth when it is supported by our antipathies and we are called upon for an opinion on such seminaries as Jesuit Colleges. But the objections to be taken to these specialist seminaries are, from an educational point of view, substantially the same in kind as may be taken to colleges which have other and merely secular aims. It is desirable therefore to maintain the position of the Universities as the trainers of all those aspirants to the teaching profession who are fitted by their previous education to enter on a University curriculum. This is all that is demanded by those who desire a University training for schoolmasters. Is it an unreasonable demand? The preliminary training of all

female student-teachers, and of the great majority of the other sex, make, and will continue in perpetuity to make, Training Colleges a necessity ; but there are some youths whose greater local advantages or greater native energy of mind is such as to have secured for them a better early training in languages and mathematics and to have inspired them with a higher ambition than these seminaries can satisfy. Those better trained intellects, those more ambitious natures, ought to have the University open to them.

It may be urged,—it is urged by some,—that the students of Training Colleges are welcome to the discipline which the University can give in classics, science, and philosophy, but that the Training Colleges themselves should furnish the purely professional instruction. But the answer to this is, that if the Training Colleges are competent to handle the question of education as a science and art equally well with the Universities, they are also competent to teach classics, science, and philosophy equally well with the Universities. Latin, I fancy, can be taught quite as well in one street of a town as another. What we want is that the student-teacher shall live in the University atmosphere, and enjoy all those subtle intellectual and moral advantages which belong to that serener air. If this be desirable as regards Latin and Mathematics, how much more is it desirable in the case of the principles of education ! Here the student enters into the precincts of Philosophy itself : he has to find the psychological basis and

relations of methods of instruction, he has to *think* about Education, and try to ascertain what Education precisely is, and what kind of public duty it is which he has before him as a teacher. He has to investigate the principles of his art, and to expand his thought by studying its history. Is it not at once apparent that whatever advantage belongs to the study of classics and science in a University belongs pre-eminently to studies which ally themselves to philosophy and history? Doubtless there are some minds whose education is so defective and whose imagination is so weak that they are unable to conceive in what respect a University curriculum should differ, as it does differ in its very essence, from a similar curriculum in a specialist college in which a practical limitation of aim vitiates the whole process of education in the higher sense of that term. To such minds I do not address myself.

Far be it from me to say one word in depreciation of Training Colleges. You will not misapprehend me. I know them too well not to respect them. I have already shown their importance as a part of the educational machinery of the country, their necessity as a permanent part of that machinery, and the debt the country owes to them. But they are not Universities—this is all I desire to say—any more than Sandhurst, or Woolwich, or Cooper's Hill, is a University. It is true that certain picked students are now sent from the Training Colleges to certain Universities to attend two of the classes there, and thus

sniff the academic air; but this device can never supply the place of a University curriculum and of University life.

When, further, we consider that for two hundred years all the leading teachers of the parochial schools of Scotland have been supplied by the Universities, and have carried with them into the most remote parishes some University culture, is it too much to ask that a system which has been so beneficial in the past shall be continued and even more fully developed under the new Statute? At this moment no man can be appointed to a Public School in Scotland—and the term "Public School" includes all schools, with about a dozen exceptions—who does not possess a Government certificate. A raw lad from the Hebrides is, after nine or ten months' training, and while yet barely able to write an ordinary letter, while wholly ignorant of Latin, and acquainted with the merest elements of other subjects, technically qualified for any Public School, while a graduate of the Universities is disqualified until he undergoes a further examination. This seems hardly credible. I have taken opportunities of bringing this fact before authorities in the Universities from time to time since 1872, but it is difficult to believe that they have yet fairly realized the actual state of things. All the new machinery for education will fail to produce the effect expected of it, if this evil be not quickly remedied.* The Education Department is quite entitled to hold that a University curriculum

* The evil has now (1882) been substantially remedied.

shall be incomplete, so far as the teacher is concerned, if it do not include a knowledge of the principles and practice of education, but to go further than this is an insult to the Universities of Scotland, which these bodies, however, seem slow to feel. The Universities are being dissociated from the teaching profession. The evil might be faced, and we might reconcile ourselves to the infliction of this blow on the University system of Scotland, especially as the Universities themselves seem to accept their position with the silence which indicates acquiescence, were it not that the education of the country is imperilled, and all that has been distinctive of Scottish school-life is threatened. It is to be hoped that we shall have ere long a recognized University curriculum for teachers, and that the impending danger may thus far be obviated.

Do not imagine that the education of the country can be maintained by Codes, with an array of "specific subjects" to be paid for at so much a head. The higher instruction has been given in the past, not for money, but for love. Teachers, having formed their standard at the Universities, carried that standard down with them into the country, and were proud of the opportunity of forming classes in Mathematics and Latin. They felt that they kept themselves up to a higher level by connecting themselves with University work, and they saw that this higher instruction told on the intelligence, and above all on the *morale*, of the whole school. It is by sending out able and ambitious men, not by the manipulation of a

Code (although this too has importance), that true education is promoted. Nor is it only for those who are competent to go direct from the school to the University that a curriculum is demanded, but also for those Training College students of one or two years' standing, who desire to carry their education further, and to qualify for the higher primary and for secondary schools.

In brief, a Faculty of Education is in a certain sense already constituted in the Training Colleges of the Empire : we desire to lift this up, and to constitute such a Faculty in the Universities, because we believe that there is a national work to be done which the Universities are alone competent to do. It is true that, if the curriculum which we contemplate is carried out, a certain small proportion of Training College students will pass over the Training Colleges altogether. Is this a matter for regret or alarm ? Are the Scottish Universities, which have always been institutions that maintained a close connection with the people, and endeavoured to supply the wants of the various professions, to be excluded now and permanently from all connection with the profession of Education, because Training Colleges will lose from 5 to 10 per cent. of their students ? The heads of the Training Colleges do not, I am satisfied, share the fear which some have expressed, and the finances of these Institutions are placed far above the reach of injury by any such slight innovation. Those who imagine that Training Colleges will be materially affected,

except for good, by this new movement, speak in utter ignorance of those seminaries, and the sources of their strength.

Further, the institution of this Chair, by providing professional instruction for teachers, not only directly benefits the schools of the country, but it increases the importance of the teaching Body. It gives it an academic standing. It makes it possible to institute for the first time in our Universities a Faculty of Education, just as we may be said already to have a Faculty of Law, of Theology, and of Engineering. It thereby raises the whole question of the Theory and Art of Education, as such, to a higher level, and may serve more than almost any other external influence to attract into the occupation of schoolmaster men who might otherwise pass it by for occupations which have hitherto ranked higher in the conventional estimate of the world. It promotes the movement, which has been steadily progressing for twenty years, for the recognition of the large body of teachers as a great national institution—an organized profession, looking, as other professions do, to the University as its source and head, and drawing strength and self-respect from that connection.

Difficulties have been thrown in the way by a few, who are at a loss to know what the movement precisely means. Timid and distrustful, and accustomed to follow precedent as the sole safe guide, they have been groping about to find what other people are thinking. What would they say at Oxford and Cam-

bridge? What do they do at Paris and Berlin? Now for myself I should certainly be glad to find that any educational movement here was supported by the concurrent approval of other learned centres, but I venture to submit that it is to Scotland that other nations may fairly look for guidance on this question. We in Scotland have been the true pioneers in Education: and do we now lag so far behind that we must be sending out scouts to see what they are doing in the front? The traditions and accumulated wisdom of three hundred years are behind us, and with all its defects our present educational system is, as a whole, still worthy of our past history. In this matter, as in others, we claim to lead Europe and America. Still I must so far consider the weak brother as to tell him that in England some of the most cultivated minds of the two Universities, being met together at Winchester in the Headmasters' Conference of 1873, discussed the question of instituting Chairs of Education in Oxford and Cambridge. The mere fact that the question was seriously discussed by such a conclave, in a country whose whole training and habit of mind is alien to philosophy, is itself most significant. And although there was no very practical issue to the Conference, opinions of weight were recorded. While desiderating, as was to be expected, arrangements for practical training, as well as for theoretical and historical instruction, the Bishop of Exeter wrote as follows:—

“ . . . It would be well worth while to provide

that men should have the opportunity of seeing something of their business, and of reflecting on what they have seen, before they begin to teach. For this purpose the ideal system would be this : to have a Professor of Education, either in London, or in Oxford, or in Cambridge, or to have one in each ; to require the Professor or Professors to give certificates to such B.A. as attended their lectures and passed a good examination in them."

Then Dr. Kennedy of Cambridge, the eminent (Emeritus), Headmaster of Shrewsbury, says :—

" . . . Professional lectures supported by examinations and certificates, which should be essential to the function of public-school teaching, though too much must not be expected from them, seem to promise some important good. Especially this, they would give to Education the status of a faculty and profession : they would oblige every master to regard his work as professional, as work to be done on definite principles and with high public responsibility. They would enhance the personal and social dignity of masters, and thereby promote their efficiency, their usefulness, and their happiness. Such professional lectures would, I suppose, be directed to the theory and history of Education, and also to the art and method of teaching : in all which moral and mental science without being directly taught would be assumed and used as principal and regulative." This is well said, and I willingly adopt the words as my own programme.

Having heard all this, do you think that I push my argument too far when I maintain that the subject of Education as such demands, as of right, a place in the University curriculum, with a view to the constituting of a Faculty of Education? The philosophy of Education is, in fact, now a distinct subject, and the importance and intimate relation of it to the future welfare of the nation require that it shall be held in academic honour, and provided with academic standing-room. Its relation to the Universities, moreover, as a means of bringing them, through some recognized functionary, a functionary controlled by the responsibilities of his position, into close connection with the whole scholastic machinery of the country, thereby extending their just influence, is sufficiently obvious.

We have, however, still other objections to the founding of an Education Chair to face, proceeding mainly from those who take what might be called an Academic view of the question. Education, they say, is an important subject, we admit, but it is too closely allied with practice to be a fit subject for University teaching. It is a subject rather for the laboratory of the schoolmaster than for the theoretical and historical prelections of a Professor. Now it is to be at once admitted that this is a fair subject for debate; but I am entitled to insist that it shall be discussed as part of a larger question—this question, namely, Is a University to train for professions at all? My answer to this is, that the business of a University is to train for the profes-

sions, and that there ought to be within a University as many Faculties as there are recognized professions. It is not because of the claims which the Theory and History of Education can make to be regarded as a subject of general University discipline (though not a little might be said on this aspect of the question, beginning from Plato), that it seeks admission to a University curriculum. It is as a complement to the Faculty of Arts, as completing the preparation of the teachers of the country for their profession, that it rests its claim. That future Educators who are receiving their general instruction in a University should there also study the subject of Education, is to my mind of the nature of a truism. Nor does it seem possible for any to hold another view without including in their condemnation all University studies which have a direct bearing on special professional preparation for active life.

That a University should close its doors to all save theoretical studies, or at least to all save those which have to do with the cultivation of a man without regard to his future occupation,—is an intelligible and perhaps tenable opinion ; but in these days it is unnecessary to discuss it. One has naturally much sympathy with that conception of a University, according to which it is constituted of a body of learned men whose sole business it is to pursue science and abstract studies generally, while admitting to their workshop only the select few who desire to spend their lives far from the vulgar crowd. But such an institu-

tion requires only the collegiate life to make it a secular monastery. All monasteries have a certain sentimental charm, and this kind of nineteenth-century monastery not least. But our modern, especially our Scottish, Universities, are far removed from such a conception. They are compromises between the theoretical and the practical. They aim at one end of their curriculum to meet and welcome the intelligence of the youth of the country, and at the other to connect themselves with the duties of active life. And if in thus adapting themselves to the needs of the time, they have thought it wise to constitute or complete certain Faculties, is the equipping of the future teacher of the country with the principles, history, and methods of his special task of less moment than the equipping of the future engineer, agriculturist, physician, or lawyer?

There is yet another objection taken by a few—an objection which is certainly specious. "We admit," they say, "the importance of the subject in itself; we recognize the desirableness of using the Universities to supply the professions of the country, because we think that we thereby contribute to the strength and dignity of those professions, and send out recruits who, along with their professional knowledge, carry with them a certain portion of University culture, and so contribute to maintain a high standard of social life. This culture we endeavour to give, regarding it as an essential part of the merely professional training, and that whereby we prevent the University from being

converted into a mere aggregate of specialist colleges. But, while admitting all this, we shall recognize no subject of instruction in any Faculty which cannot rank itself among the sciences, either in itself or by direct affiliation." There is much vagueness and half-thought about this objection. It seems to be forgotten that very many of the existing Chairs are divorced by their very nature from the category of sciences. All those Chairs which have to do with Humane Letters, not merely the Chairs of ancient tongues, but of Philosophy and Literature, and even Law, have a place in the higher education of youth by virtue of qualities which are, it is not too much to say, antagonistic to the conception of science. The truth is that the objections urged on the scientific ground are a covert attack on The Humanities, and especially on the Philosophy of Mind in all its branches. The objectors start with the assumption that nothing is worthy of University study save science, and at the same moment they restrict the term "science" to aggregates of fact that can be demonstrated in such a way as not to admit of question. There is no science in this, the strictest acceptance of the term, except Mathematics and those branches of knowledge which rests on Mathematics.

Botany, for example, is not a science in the restricted sense of the term; it may be one day a science, but as yet it is only a system of classification, and a record of interesting observations and reasonings on the physiology of vegetable organisms—so far as

they go, correct and verifiable. I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that there is nothing to prevent a discovery in Biology being made, which would revolutionize the fundamental conception of Botany in one day. Botany may be held to represent other departments of knowledge to which the name of science is freely accorded. The objectors would not drive such studies as Botany out of the Universities, because they include them (as I think inconsistently) in their notion of science. The fact is that such objectors respect Botany and similar studies because they are at least possible sciences, inasmuch as they deal with what can be seen by the eye of sense, and handled and weighed and measured, and so forth. Their objection to Education as a special branch of study is, when probed to its foundation, this, that it adds another to the list of Humane studies which already disturb their scientific intellects,—to wit Classics, Metaphysics, Logic, Ethics, and, I rather suspect, Political Economy too. To History they may descend to give academic standing-room, because after all it has to do with things that *did* make their appearance as phenomena on the face of the planet, and probably admit of some sort of co-ordination. But as to those other departments of thought which I have named, and all such, the sooner they are despatched to the limbo of ineptitudes the better. It is naturally disturbing to such minds to find subjects, which do not admit of exact treatment, assuming rank and importance in determining the progress

of civilization, and in the regulation of contemporary academical arrangements. The most recent improvement in the microscope does not enable them to see the so-called things of mind,—the most delicately adjusted scales will not weigh them ; their genesis and their *modus operandi* are invisible and impalpable, and their possible and actual results defy any calculus. It is not only disturbing, but distressing that such things should be—nay, that such things should, in truth, constitute the great forces which in all ages have moved the heart of humanity, and have made the history of man.

If a science be a synthetic and systematic body of truth regarding a department of knowledge, which starts from certain axiomatic statements, and, by help of a few postulates, builds up its fabric of verity so that each part rises out of another by necessary sequence, then it is well to say at once that Education is not a science, nay, that it never will be a science. But are we to measure its right to a place in a University system by such stringent requirements ? If so, what department of study belonging to the *Litteræ Humaniores* will stand the test ? Is Metaphysics a science ? In one sense "No," in another it is the *scientia scientiarum*—the *πρώτη φιλοσοφία*. Even in the field of formal Logic do not men still occupy hostile camps ? Of Ethics what shall we say ? For 2400 years men have thought, spoken, taught; but with what *scientific* result ? With this, that even now the criterion of the right and wrong in conduct, the

nature of conscience, the very existence of the sentiment of duty as an inner power, are still matters of debate. And yet there is a philosophy, if not a science, of Ethics. Is History a science? Some vainly imagine that it is at least a possible science. Given certain conditions, they are prepared, by the help of the Registrar-General, to predict the history of nations. But it is at once evident that the social movements of the whole involve the equally necessary movement of each individual of that whole, and that a science of History demands for its possibility not only an unbending system of physical laws within which man is to work, but also that man himself shall be an automaton! And yet though there be no science, there is a philosophy, of History. Is Political Economy a science? Even now the fundamental principles of that department of knowledge are an arena for discussion. The question of supply and demand is still debated; the difficulties of the currency question are still open to further discussion; even the principle of Free-Trade *versus* Protection is still a moot point. Not perhaps in this country; but we must not let our insular self-complacency shut our eyes to the fact that in the United States and our Colonies, and on the continent of Europe, the principle of Free-Trade is not merely set aside in practice, but impugned by argument. The very theory of Rent, which J. S. Mill considers to be the *pons asinorum* of Political Economy, and the discovery of which is held to be the crowning glory of Ricardo, is still

unsettled. Is Jurisprudence a science? No; and yet is there no philosophy of Law? So with Education. I am quite willing to hand over the word "science" to those departments of knowledge which have to do with Mathematics, and with things seen and temporal, if only I am allowed to comprehend those other studies which truly constitute the life of man under the term Philosophy. As theory, Education allies itself to Psychology, Physiology, and Sociology. The materials of its teaching it draws from these philosophies, from the practice of the schoolroom, and from the rich domain of History.

Grant all this, but still those generally well affected to the new study have misgivings. The Chair of Education will be a mere platform for the airing of theoretical views or the enunciation of crotchets. Now I would allay such fears by pointing out, in the first place, that this Chair does not exist for the purpose of talking at large about Education, but of preparing teachers for their profession, and that this practical aim is inconsistent with windy talk. I have some sympathy with the cynical Love Peacock, who, in describing certain social bores in the shape of men of one idea who hold forth in season and out of season, says: "The worst of all bores was the third. His subject had no beginning, middle, nor end. It was Education. Never was such a journey through the desert of mind, the great Sahara of intellect. The very recollection makes me thirsty." Such men are not educationalists in any sense in which

that term is applicable within these walls. They are men of leisure who have restless minds, and if they have not one fixed idea or crotchet, will find another. An educationalist has no crotchets. That man has crotchets who, having seized on that particular corner of a large and many-sided subject which has some secret affinity with his own mind, or affords the quickest passage to notoriety, pursues it to the death. Now, an educationalist is, by virtue of his very name and vocation, inaccessible to all petty fanaticisms. He has to deal with a subject of infinite variety, and so variously related to life, that he is more apt to be lost in hesitations and scepticisms than to be the victim of a fixed idea. If you wish to meet with educational crotchets, you must go to the specialist in this or that department of knowledge, who is unfortunate enough to take up the question of Education, as you see he often in moments of aberration takes up other subjects which are outside his own range of intellectual experience. It is only in such cases that you will find the confidence and self-assurance which is born of limited knowledge, and the pertinacious insistence which flows from these habits of mind. To him whose subject is Education crotchets are prohibited, because his opinions on this or that point are related on the one side to rational and comprehensive theory, and on the other to the daily practice of the schoolroom and the needs of life.

Having dealt thus far with what may be called the

apologetics of my subject, and arrogated for it a place in our Academic system, whether we regard its inherent claims or its relation to the well-being of the country, I have, on the other hand, to avoid the error of magnifying too much its importance. The more abstract treatment of the theory of Education is doubtless, if true in its philosophy, of universal application. It sweeps the whole field. But this will engage our attention only within carefully prescribed limits, and when we leave this portion of our subject, we have to restrict ourselves on all sides. The education of every human being is determined by potent influences which do not properly fall within the range of our consideration here. The breed of men to which the child belongs, the character of his parents, the human society into which he is born, the physical circumstances by which he is surrounded, are silently but irresistibly forming him. The traditions of his country, its popular literature, its very idioms of speech, its laws and customs, its religious life, its family life, constitute an aggregate of influence which chiefly make him what he is. With these things we have to do only by way of a passing reference; we have not to deal with them. By their constant presence they mould the future man, himself unconscious. They are the atmosphere of the humanity of his particular time and place, and in breathing it he is essentially a *passive* agent. Our business is rather with the conscious and *active* elements of moral and intellectual growth. We have to make the passive creature of

circumstance a free, self-conscious, rational agent, endowed with purposes and ideals, and we have to find the means of best doing this. The passive activity of our nature is not to be ignored in our educational methods ; it is to be turned to use as one of our most potent instruments, but it is mainly the self-conscious forces that we have to educe and direct. Even in doing this we are bound by external conditions, and must take note not only of the almost irresistible forces around us, but of minor conditions of time, place, and circumstance.

Each successive century, and the traditions and circumstances of each country, nay, the genius of each people, present to us the educational problem in ever-changing aspects. Educational systems cannot be manufactured in the study. Our theory of the end of all education and the means by which that end has to be attained may be, or rather ought to be, always the same ; but the application of that theory must vary with varying external conditions. What present defects have we *here and now*, and to what dangers are we exposed ? is the form which the practical question must take with us. Now I would say that one of our chief dangers in these days is the over-instruction of willing and ingenuous boys. We are in the very midst of what will afterwards be designated the information-epoch of Education. We are in danger of confounding the faculty for swallowing with the faculty for digesting. To borrow words from biological science, we sometimes proceed as if the

mind of man grew by accretion and not by intussusception. The system of universal examinations has encouraged this. Now a system whereby the teachers of the country are converted into "coaches," is, by its very nature, hostile to the true conception of Education. No school which converts itself into a coaching establishment is a place of education in the proper sense of that term. There is a repose, a calm, a stability in the steady march of all sound education, which is alien to the feverish spirit that animate the ante-chamber of an examination-room.

The aim of the educationalist is not the giving of information, nay, not even instruction, though this is essential, but mainly discipline ; and the aim of discipline is the production of a sound mind in a sound body, the directing and cherishing of the growth of the whole nature, spiritual and physical, so as to make it possible for each man, within the limits of the capacity which God has given him, to realize in and for himself, with more or less success, the type of humanity, and in his relation to others to exhibit a capability for wise and vigorous action. This result will not be attained by pressure. By anticipating the slow but sure growth of nature, we destroy the organism. Many and subtle are the ways in which nature avenges itself on the delicate, complicated machinery of man, but avenge itself somehow it will and must.

It is difficult to say which is the more pernicious, that system which overstrains the active intelligence of the willing and ambitious boy, or that which fills

his mind, while it is yet mainly passive with the results of mature thought, and endows him with a kind of miniature omniscience. Those who survive such methods of training may, doubtless, be very useful agents, very serviceable machines, but they will rarely initiate. With a few exceptions, their minds will be either exhausted or overlaid. That elasticity of spirit which enables a man always to rise to the level of the varying requirements of the day and hour in the Family and the State ; that free movement of will which is ever ready to encounter more than half way the vicissitudes and exigencies of life, that vivacious intelligence which maintains throughout life an unceasing love of knowledge ; that soundness of brain and muscle which reacts on the inner self by giving steadiness to moral purpose, will assuredly not be promoted by forcing more and more subjects into the school curriculum, and applying the pressure of constant examinations by outside authorities. We want men who will be ready for the crises of life as well as for its daily routine of duty, and who will, by their mere manner of encountering even their ordinary work, contribute to the advance of the commonwealth in vigour and virtue. Such men alone are fully competent for all the services which their country may demand from them. Such men may be slowly grown, they cannot be manufactured under a system of pressure. Great Britain has had many such ; Scotland has been prolific of them. The intellect, the will, and the arm of Scotsmen, have done, we flatter our-

selves, their fair share in creating the British Empire, and they have done it all by virtue mainly of their breed, and by such restricted education as Arithmetic, Latin, and the Shorter Catechism afforded. No superincumbent load of impossible tasks oppressed their minds while yet immature.

Do not draw a hasty inference from what has now been said. The requirements of the time in which we live, the industrial competition of one nation with another, the revolution in the arts of war, all demand that the materials of Education should change with changing conditions of life. I am quite alive to this necessity—but the inner form must remain ever the same. For after all that can be said, the main object of our efforts must, on one side at least, be the growth of power in the future man. If we would secure this, the pursuit of it must control and regulate the instruction we give, and the method of giving it. Above all, we must not be in a hurry. Having faith in the quiet processes of nature, we must, as educators, be calm, deliberate, and ever regard the end.

The power which we desire to foster is the product of Will and of natural force. It is difficult to separate these two elements in any act, but for purposes of thought they may be regarded as distinct. I shall refer again to the element of natural force: our present concern is with power in its intellectual and moral relations, which is Will. It operates in the region of

intelligence and emotion alike. The ground and root of intellectual and moral activity is ultimately the same, and the end is the same—the Ethical life. If this can be shown analytically, we shall reduce to unity the whole idea of Education in its merely formal aspect, and supply a conception which, while helping us to estimate the value of educational instruments and methods, will, at the same time, exalt and guide our conceptions of duty as educators.

Power, however, cannot work on nothing, and we have next to consider it in its concrete relations, in order that we may discern and exhibit the content as well as the form of the Educational Idea. True that our range of discussion is in this place finally limited by the practical object which we have immediately in view—the production of the good citizen; but this, though our primary, is not our ultimate aim. Citizenship is not the end of human life, but only a means to an end. For, in a certain sense, the ultimate reference of all thought and action of man is to himself as a personality. Christianity, which teaches the most thorough-going altruism, also teaches this; and in teaching this, it deepened the foundation of the modern doctrine of culture which had been laid by the Greeks. Speaking quite generally, Culture may, for want of a better word, be accepted as the end of all exercise of intellectual and moral power, and therefore in its ultimate result the real end, of education, just as power is the formal end.

But in accepting "Culture" as a fit expression for the real end of education, we have to examine carefully the features of this god as they appear on the canvas of modern *littérateurs*, and distinguish our own conception from theirs. No finality, no perfectness is possible for man, and culture therefore must be restricted, viewed educationally, to the idea rather of a process than of an attained and stable product. It is the harmonious and continuous growing of a man in all that pertains to humanity. Culture in the sphere of education is, I say, a continuous process—the harmonious balancing of all the varied forces that constitute the life of a human soul. Now such a balancing is impossible save round some centre. From this may be deduced two practical conclusions on education in respect of its content. *First*, that intellectual culture will be most thorough when a man has some leading subject as the centre of his intellectual activity; and *secondly*, that moral culture, the harmonious growth of the soul, is possible only where there is a centre round which all the moral and æsthetic elements of our nature turn. That centre is God Himself, round which reality the sentiments, emotions, hopes, and aspirations of the moral life range themselves. In God alone the ethical life has true existence. If for God we substitute Self, we substitute an empty and barren fact in the room of a pregnant and life-giving Idea.

When I say that it is an essential condition of vigorous intellectual growth that a man should have

some prime subject of thought and study, I do not of course mean that every man must be a specialist. A specialist, in the strict sense of the term, is a man who has so used up both his powers and his mental interests in one specific direction as to weaken his capacity for all other objects, and to narrow his mental range. A study prosecuted so exclusively weakens the judgment for all else. A leading subject, but not an exclusive subject, is wanted, and this will be found to strengthen the judgment for all else. In the moral region, again, the permanent centre of all our thought and activity, which is God, so far from narrowing, expands the growing man. The central idea is like a sun, under which the whole being lives and grows, and from which each individual part draws warmth and strength. Culture without this centre is the depravation of a great idea, and has no object higher than self. Self can form no true centre to self.

Moral Culture, further, must not only find its centre outside of self in God, but it must express itself in action if it is to live. It is a misuse of terms to call *that* culture which, labouring under the baleful influence of self-worship, has forgotten that power can fulfil itself only in action. With some minds of strong æsthetic proclivities, culture issues in a kind of paralysis of judgment. The soul floats in the dim and dreamy potentialities of sentiment. The man of this kind of culture indulges himself in the perpetual contemplation of himself and his surroundings, is frequently distinguished for a spurious amiability,

nourishes feeling in a self-imposed retirement from the duties of citizenship, occupies himself with the contemplation of his own refined sensibilities, ever repeating to himself the words which Cicero puts into the mouth of the god of Epicurus, "Mihi pulchre est: ego beatus sum." This result indeed is the very Nemesis of culture which has lost its way. This is the fate of the literary no less than of the religious recluse. Depend upon it, Nature, which is strong and virile, will have none of this : it demands the active manifestation of such power as we have, in expressed thought or living deed. Thus then only does moral culture reach its true aim by first centering itself in God, and next by forgetting itself in action.

Culture, then, which we may accept as an expression for the sum of the end of Education in respect of content, as distinguished from the end of education with respect to form (which end is Power), is the harmonious growing of all that is in man ; as a harmonious growing of intellect it demands a prime intellectual study, but discourages specialism ; as a harmonious and therefore balanced growing of the moral life, it must have a centre round which it may balance itself other than itself, and that centre of truth and reality is God, the source and sustainer of life, the beginning and the end of human endeavour : finally, as a living and wholesome as well as a harmonious growing, it has to seek the very conditions of its existence outside itself in action. It

finds in the opportunities of life at once its nourishment, the conditions of its vitality, and the measure of its soundness. It lives neither from itself, in itself, nor to itself.

Culture thus interpreted is not, you will at once see, unpractical in its aims in the hands of the educationalist. For we find that it cannot be truly promoted save by ever keeping in view the practical issue of all training—the rearing of a religious people, and the preparation of youth for social duty and for the service of humanity, whereby alone they can truly serve and fulfil themselves. In its practical relations to the science and art of education, the term will be found pregnant with instruction as regards method also. For in the intellectual sphere, as we have seen, it enjoins unity of purpose as opposed to fragmentary encyclopædism, and in the moral sphere the need of the Religious idea and the conception of social duty, without which all our moral sentiment and moral discipline would be jointless and invertebrate.

The educational sceptic will say, “These be brave words : what has this culture to do with the education of the masses ?” I might reply that I deal *here* with education, and not merely with the education of those whose school-time ends at twelve or thirteen years of age ; but I do not choose to take refuge in a reply which would involve me in the confession that the education of one class of the community is essentially unlike that of another, and has different

aims. Were it so there would be no unity in the idea of education—and this is to say that there is no idea of education at all. The thread of intellectual discipline, of moral purpose, and of culture runs through all education alike. The end is the same and the processes are the same. The seed which we sow in the humblest village school, and the tender plant which there, through many obstacles, forces itself into the light by the help of the skilled hand of the village schoolmistress, are not different in kind from the seed and the plant which in more favourable soil and by force of a higher organization grow up into a Leibnitz or a Bacon. To some extent indeed we may say that education is at every stage complete in its idea and uniform in its methods. It is with a process, not a consummation, that the teacher has to do, and with an unfinished process that he has always to be content. With every individual soul he has to deal as with a being that lives for ever, and that may carry forward its growth and the impulse he gives it after this brief life is past. It is only when we commit the vulgar error of confounding growth of soul with intellectual acquisition that we deprecate the possible results of primary education. The experience of us all testifies to this and justifies and sustains our loftiest hopes. Have we not all seen the highest ends of education attained in lives limited in their scope, brief in their duration, and barren of opportunity?

“ In small proportions we just beauty see,
• And in short measures life may perfect be.”

Having thus set before you the twofold end of education in respect of form and of content,—power and culture, our next duty, in working out a theory of education, is to follow the secret inner movements of Mind whereby it reaches these ends.

It is precisely at this point in the process of our thought that a new consideration is forced on us. For we find that the formal processes that tend to discipline and power and the processes that tend to culture cross and recross each other. This is explained by the fact that while it is necessary, for purposes of exact thought, to distinguish the formal and the real, these two are in truth one in a concrete third notion. Culture without the presence of a dominant and regulative inner power is impossible ; on the other hand, an inner regulative power, save as the centre of an abundant material of cognitions and emotions ranged and co-ordinated under supreme and governing principles, is an empty abstraction. The two unite together in the Ethical life. The more or less of knowledge or of faculty is a small matter ; the Ethical life is all in all. It is because the formal and real are in truth one in their issue that we find it impossible, save in a very rough way, to separate the processes of the growth of power, which are disciplinal, and the steps of the growth of culture, which are the real in knowledge. By fixing their attention too much on one side or the other, men take a partial view of education, and partial opinions are apt to degenerate into partisan views. The true conception of education is a conciliation of both ; but it is

governed by the formal and not by the real element. The distinguishing characteristic of man is that, while he is *of* Nature, he is also above and outside, Nature. By Will it is that man is what he is. In my estimate, therefore, of the comparative claims of the disciplinal and the real in educating, priority is to be assigned to the former.

It will be at once evident that the side from which we regard the idea of education will determine the value which we attach to particular studies, and the methods of intellectual and moral training which we shall most affect. But when we pass from the general consideration of the formal and the real elements in education, and the part which each plays in the production of that unity "of a completely fashioned Will," which is the goal of our labours, and descend to the mental processes themselves whereby intellectual and moral elements are taken into the structure of the life of a rational being and contribute to its organic growth, we are on ground common to all. In this field of inquiry, as in every other, we are but the ministers and interpreters of nature. The subtle processes whereby the moral and intellectual life of man is built up are in truth processes of education. To trace these is a difficult task, and one in which we cannot hope wholly to succeed. But we may go on in full faith that there is a *way* in which Nature works by moral and intellectual discipline to the growth of power, and by knowledge to the growth of culture. The analysis

which we institute to ascertain this *way* is not influenced by our philosophical conceptions : it is simply a question of fact. On this analysis rests the whole system of Methods of instruction and of school-keeping, which ought to constitute at least one half of the course of instruction given from this place. In the sphere of the Understanding, for example, by what cunning process does intelligence take to itself the materials of its life? A matter this of great importance ; for the determination of the different stages of the growth of the understanding determines at the same time the period at which the various subjects of instruction, and the diverse aspects of these, are to be represented to the child, the boy, and the youth respectively, in such a way as to ensure assimilation. For it is by assimilation only that true growth is possible ; all else is mere acquisition, and so far from being education, it is not even instruction. On this subject, as indeed on all questions of methodology, we shall learn most from infant schools. It is in the teaching of the elements of knowledge that the art of teaching chiefly reveals itself. The title which Sturm gives to one of his treatises ought to stand at the head of all books on Method, viz., "De ludis literarum recte aperiendis."

In the Moral sphere, again, we encounter difficulties of method much more grave. We have here to tread delicately and warily. The question of times and ways is a vital one. We readily perceive the folly of presenting the whole of *knowledge* in mass and at

once to a child's understanding, and yet we do not hesitate to put at once before him the complex sum of moral and religious doctrine and precepts, in the hope of producing thereby a living result. The ideas of religion and the principles and precepts of morality must follow experience, accompany intellectual growth, and wait even on the activity of the imagination. The educator will approach this portion of his task with much earnestness and some fear. He has to shape and to inspire a human soul, full of sensibility, alive to the lightest touch, quickly responsive to every appeal of love and every word of hate. "A mother's scream," says Jean Paul, "will resound through the whole future life of a child ;" and do we not know that the memory of a mother's tenderness lives for ever? Let not the instructor of youth imagine that he has no concern with what may be called the refinements and subtleties of moral training. If he does so, his psychology is fundamentally unsound. Even in little things the teacher must seek and find his opportunity. *Les petites morales* of good personal habits and of good manners are to him by no means trivial. They constitute frequently the only way in which he can apply to the ordinary acts of the school-room and the play-ground the deeper truths which inspire his teaching ; and they are in the case of many childish natures the only way in which those deeper truths can be brought into consciousness as living and governing forces. They are the outer expression of an inner state, and by the cultivation of the outer expression we always

sustain the inner life ; nay, we sometimes evoke it when otherwise it would not emerge. Manners seem to be of slight importance; but they are often of large import, and are not seldom convertible with morals, as the word itself was among the Romans. The Laureate speaks truly when he says :—

“Manners are not idle, but the fruit
Of loyal nature and of noble mind.”

I have been speaking of intellectual and moral instruction and of intellectual and moral discipline ; but I would repeat that beyond and above both these, constituting the unity in which the two meet, is the Ethical life. This proposition—that the intellectual and moral substance of education, and intellectual and moral discipline, the formal and the real, are fused in the unity of the ethical life—it will be my business to explain and make good in the more philosophical portion of my course. You will then see, I trust, that the ethical function of the teacher cannot be pressed too far. It will appear also that it is the ethical element which is at the root of the manly and generous growth of boyhood, and the sole force which can permanently sustain even purely intellectual effort. All labour of the schoolmaster is of doubtful issue as regards the merely intellectual *resultant* in his pupils, but every act which is inspired by the ethical spirit has its sure intellectual as well as moral reward. It cannot possibly be wholly lost. Here the spiritual forces are on our side and continually make for us.

Indeed, if we have not this faith, we had better give the whole business up.

Be it observed that the term "Ethical" is here used in the broad sense in which it comprehends Religion. It is the ethics of a religion which justify a creed before the world, and it is the religion of ethics which gives moral teaching a hold on the heart of man and a sure foundation in human reason. The morality of secularism has for its foundation self-interest, and for its sanction coercion ; it may preserve society ; but it is only when ethics are in union with religious conceptions, either passing into these or rising out of them, that they promote the true life of humanity. It is religion which affords to ethical science a basis in the infinite, and presents to the ethical life issues in the infinite.

The question which next most presses for consideration is—What instruments or materials are most promotive of the end we propose to ourselves, viewed in the light of their ultimate unity in the ethical life ? We have to select those instruments which by their nature contribute most, and most surely, to the supreme end of all our endeavours. By this measure we must mete the instruments which the present state of knowledge offers us. It is impossible, and were it possible it would be undesirable, and destructive of all sound discipline, to teach even the beginnings of every subject. But it ought not to be difficult to adjust the rival claims of Literature (including under this head

Languages, Ancient and Modern), Science, and *Aësthetics*. The philosophy of education is a poor affair if it cannot, out of the materials which are clamant for attention in the school-room because of their immediate use in the work of life, and as essential pre-requisites of ethical activity, find apt instruments for its purpose. Such questions are of great importance to the well-being of society. If primary instruction, for example, must exclude from its curriculum science, in any strict sense of the term, can there be any doubt that our daily instruction should be so contrived as to place a child in intelligent relations with the world in which he lives, and to enable him to look with the eye of reason, and not of the brute, on the phenomena of the physical universe? Still less is there room for doubt, it seems to me, that the elements and applications of the laws of health and of social economy should enter into every scheme of instruction. It is through these subjects indeed that we shall at once rectify the conceptions of the pupil as to the sphere of duty in which God has placed him, and give direction, significance, and practical force to our moral teaching.

In the secondary stage of education, again—that which immediately precedes University discipline,—the place to be assigned to Latin and Greek must be largely determined by what we mean when we name these studies. If such instruction resolves itself into mere memory-work and gerund-grinding, it is even then not without educative uses, but it must make way and that quickly, for other and better disciplines.

If, however, it is so employed as to be an exercise of the inductive and deductive processes ; if the study of words and sentences be an unconscious study of thought, and if they become, as boys advance, a study of form and an introduction to the pregnant and elevating idea of Art ; if the embalmed thoughts be truly made to breathe and the dead words to burn, then indeed we have here an instrument of unsurpassed and unsurpassable excellence. It is true that the rich records of modern life and literature now yield us much of the culture we seek in antiquity, but we cannot afford to dispel the halo which gathers round the remote past, and the deeds of the men who have gone before us. Imagination here, by idealizing, sustains morality, and is also the spur of the intellect. Still less can we afford to part with the impersonal and objective character of the teachings of Judæa, Greece, and Rome, and to substitute for them the subjective and partisan lessons of modern life. On the whole, I feel with Jean Paul, who says, "The present ranks of humanity would sink irrecoverably if youth did not take its way through the silent temple of the mighty past, into the busy market-place of life." But even after all this is said, and more than this, it is an anachronism to give such studies exclusive possession of the field. In the present state of knowledge, not more than half the school-time should, it seems to me, be given to ancient studies, even in the upper classes of professedly classical schools ; and not all boys should be even thus far restricted. It is a dis-

credit to our great Educational Institutions that any boy of seventeen should be in ignorance of such things as the elements of Physics and Physiology.

As yet, except when alluding briefly to the conditions of power, I have been talking of the education of man as if I were speaking of spirits in a world of spirits. From birth to death, however, Man is subject to external circumstances which are for the most part too mighty for him. He seems to rise out of a physical organization : it is the outer which at first evokes his slumbering consciousness at birth, and the outer conquers him in death. With these physical conditions of existence he has to effect a compromise. All his receptivity and all his activity is in and through mortal brain and muscle. All his moral and intellectual activity must therefore be carried on with due regard to the external instrument which he must employ. In the treatment of the subject of education it is not necessary to profess any theory of the relation between mind and body: But this we know, that the former, both in its sensibilities and activities, is bound up with the natural laws of the latter, and to those laws it must conform, or fail itself to live.

The theoretical question of the identification of thought and emotion with nerve-processes is simply one part of a much larger question, the relation of Nature itself to Mind. Evade it as we may, encumber it as we may with irrelevant and side issues, the ques-

tion is really this : Are thought and personality the product of natural force, or are natural forces themselves the product of thought and personality ? Spenser says :—

“ Of the soul the body form doth take,
For soul is form and doth the body make.”

Now this, as other cognate questions, cannot, of course, be from this Chair treated critically. The critical and historical investigation of all such subjects is otherwise provided for. I must in all such matters assume a purely dogmatic position, and with dogma you must be here content. The advance of Physiology into the sphere of Psychology has been viewed by many of the older and purely introspective school with unnecessary alarm. It is a mistake to suppose that the Physiology of Mind necessarily teaches a materialistic theory of intelligence. This is often assumed ; but there is no necessary connection between the two. The physiology of Mind is merely the study of those material processes in which sensation and intelligence and even moral emotion are involved, and which at once condition consciousness and are conditioned by it. It is an important auxiliary to the study of Mind, but can never occupy the ground of the older Psychology. In every step of its processes it demands a reflection on consciousness, and an analysis of the life and phenomena of consciousness, to give it significance—nay, even to render its results intelligible. If, again, we entirely change our point of departure in self, and look at self and all that we call

Mind from an outside position as a mere product of physical forces, as a function of matter, we are then no longer dealing with a merely psychological question, but, as I have already indicated, with a part of the larger cosmical question—the origination of all things; and by our conclusions as to this larger inquiry, the subordinate, yet to us all-important subject, must be determined. We shall probably find that the only effectual answer to the proposition "All is Nature," is the counter proposition "All is Mind." He alone can entertain the thought of Mindless man who has first taken to his bosom the withering thought of Godless Nature.

However this may be, we may, as students of education, assume that Mind works under physical conditions. Every sensation, every emotion, every act of memory, every act of thought, is effected through brain, and involves a certain process and a certain exhaustion of substance. The proper nutrition of brain, consequently, with a view to the repair of waste, must ever be with educationalists a matter of prime consideration. The effects of overstraining or of defective nutritive process are in their practical relations vital. I am sufficiently well aware of the necessity of fresh air and clean skins, and spacious well-drained school-rooms, but these and other physical questions are all subsidiary to the consideration of the demands which the life of sensibility, emotion, will, and thought make on the brain. Here Physiology holds up the finger of warning. But instructive as the negative teachings of

Physiology are, the positive contributions which it has to make to the philosophy of education are even more valuable. The intimate connection subsisting between states of consciousness and cerebral changes, and the relation of these, when repeated, to what may be called the "set" of the nerve-apparatus, bring to view with a vividness which is beyond the reach of the ordinary psychology, the manner of the formation of habits of feeling, thought, and action. Indeed there is nothing more encouraging to the earnest teacher than the study of the Physiology of Habit.

It will now be more clearly apparent why I selected the word "Power" to denote the formal end of Education. It is preferable to Will, because this has to do rather with moral and intellectual relations regarded purely as such. When an active and free, self-determining, ever-ready will is aided by those physical conditions which determine the healthful activity of all the bodily organs, so that they respond willingly to the demands made on them, we have a complex state before us. There is a natural volition, the issue of mere life and health in our physical frame, which bounds forward to ally itself with the movement of intelligent Will, and gives to the latter a certain steadiness and self-assurance. To this combination of free will with the gladly co-operating volition of the bodily organization we assign the name of *Power*.

It would appear, from what has been said, that in dealing with Education we touch various departments

of knowledge, but there is little danger of our wandering : for the fixing of the ends of education will at once impose a limit on our studies, and give stability to them. It will protect us both from vague speculation and from tedious detail. To enter into questions of philosophy, is so far from being incumbent on us that to do so would be to defeat the specific objects for which this Chair has been founded. The consideration of these questions has been already provided for in the University curriculum. But while the Professor must here, as representing a practical subject, avoid all speculation, he must yet find some dogmatic philosophic basis as a support for his thought, if his teaching is not to be an aggregate of disjointed essays. In Psychology and Physiology he must lay his foundations ; but from these departments' of knowledge he will select only such materials as have a direct bearing on education, and give significance and the force of law to educational ends, processes, and methods.

This portion of our course has to be treated in detail as belonging to the Art of Teaching, and will necessarily occupy much of our attention. It will be illustrated by model lessons, and by observation of the procedure of the best schools. The means of obtaining practice in teaching will also, it is hoped, be provided.

Thus informed as to the ends and philosophy of Education and the rational grounds of pedagogic methods, we shall then find ourselves in a good

position for surveying History. As we read the records of the past we shall see that education by and in the family, was early overpowered by the education of the tribe, and finally of the State. In the earliest stages of society, while man was yet struggling for subsistence, education could only mean the fitting of a man to secure for himself the necessary protection and food ; nor is this primary necessity ever to be lost sight of as the basis of all educational systems, even among the most cultivated nations. As society advances, division of labour and the rudiments of professions extend the sphere of human life and the conception which the more thoughtful form of man's capabilities, needs, duties, and destiny. Religion, Law, and Medicine become gateways of speculation ; and through speculation it is that humanity has been enabled to rise. Speculation may be said to begin when knowledge for its own sake becomes an object of pure desire, and man becomes an object of interest and wonder to man. As soon as men surmise their own greatness, apprehend that each is valuable not only for what he can do, but for what he is, and that man does not live by bread alone, the idea of Culture enters—which contemplates the growth of man to the full stature of his race. In the educational history of ancient nations, especially of Greece and of Rome, we shall see these ideas take form. The process of historical evolution will thus furnish a continual illustration of the Philosophy of education, and while guarding us

against the errors of other times, recall to us great ideas which we are apt to push rudely aside with the vulgar self-assurance that distinguishes a mechanical age, oblivious of the debts it owes to the past, and ignoring its moral inheritance.

We shall find, too, much instruction from the study of the educational organization of other countries, and much encouragement from the study, in their historical connection, of the systems of those who have been eminent as educational reformers. Those systems are generally full of suggestive material, even when their leading ideas must be pronounced partial and inadequate.

I have now endeavoured to vindicate, as fully as our limits permit, the position of this Chair in an Academic curriculum, and to indicate the nature of the instruction which it proposes to give to those fitting themselves for the work of the school. It seems to me that if the future teacher of the higher class of public schools be carried through such a course, he will not merely be better fitted for his professional work than now, but be personally benefited by the mental discipline which the curriculum will afford. Going forth to the duties of active life instructed in the ends, processes, and history of Education, he will not work blindly, but connecting his daily duties with the philosophy of man, he will see all methods of instruction in their rational grounds ; and allying himself with the long history of his profession, he will regard with that

self-respect, which is alien to self-conceit, his position as the responsible distributor, within his sphere, of the accumulated knowledge and civilization of his time. Going forth, too, with an inspiring motive suggested by the ethical end towards which all his labour tends, he will carry with him the moral fervour which we demand of a minister of sacred things. All instruction, all discipline will be truly valuable in his eyes only in so far as they subserve that ultimate ethical purpose in which the form and content of education finally unite. Set apart to educate children for the State—whatever instruments he may use, whatever methods he may pursue—this purpose will ever be present to his thought, exalting his life and sustaining his activity. It is only by labouring towards this end that he can fitly discharge his special function in society, find a certain reward even in partial success, and, in the words of Milton, "store up for himself the good provision of peaceful hours." What is it to him that he should teach this or that particular subject if he fail to build up and elevate the whole humanity of his pupils! And should he pursue any other purpose than this, and pursue it even with apparent success, what will be the result in the generations that are to follow? A mere sharpening of the wits of men, but no wit to find the true way. "What an infinite mock is this," says Shakespeare, "that a man should have the best use of his eyes to see the way of blindness!"

In conclusion, let me say that if the teacher can be led to rise to the full conception of his task, and to

understand that he is in truth one of the great moral forces of society, one of the conservators of civilization, he will be among the first to resist all attempts to divorce his daily work from the ethical and religious life of his time. This follows from the idea of education and of the educator's function, which I have endeavoured to set forth. He will at once see that so to divorce him is to throw him out of all relation to the true humanity of the past and of the future, and to abrogate that which is at once his highest duty and greatest privilege. He will feel that if he accepts restriction to the secular, he must be content to forego the full measure of the social respect and State-consideration which are rightfully his due. Ordained to the priesthood of the school, and held by society to be so ordained, he will not find it necessary to clamour for a social recognition which will be freely accorded to him whose office it is, in the words of Tennyson,

". . . to rear, to teach ;
Becoming as is meet and fit,
A link among the days to knit
The generations each with each."

If men can be sent forth from the University for the service of their country, so equipped and so inspired, the Chair of Education will have made good its claim to a place in the Academic curriculum, and the objects of the Founders will be attained.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION IN ITS RELATION TO THE SCHOOL AND THE TEACHER.*

Now that the external organization of education has made considerable way in most civilized countries, the minds of men are free to consider the uses to which the machinery is to be applied. The mere acquisition of a certain facility in reading and writing and casting accounts can scarcely be held to justify the present large outlay of wealth and energy. It is only if education is deliberately aimed at as essentially an ethical task, that social reformers will find their highest hopes of the school realized. Be this as it may, it is evident that the Philosophy of Education now comes to the front and demands consideration.

I assume that the education of a country is determined by its philosophy ; but I use the word philosophy in the larger sense as denoting the beliefs of a period, whether reasoned out or not, regarding man, his nature, his social relations, and his destiny. Philosophy in the narrower sense as applied to education

* From the *Princeton Review*.

is, strictly speaking, only psychology, and determines the periods of mental growth in the individual, and methods of instruction as these are indicated by a study of the processes of mind. In this more restricted sense also the education of a country is determined by its philosophy. The saying of Aristotle, that it is not in man's option whether he will philosophize or not, but that he *must* philosophize, is especially true in the sphere of the school. If this be so, it becomes a matter of no small importance that those concerned with education should *deliberately and consciously* philosophize, in order that they may define their aim as well as their methods. We hold that a training in philosophy, both in its larger and narrower sense, is necessary for those members of the community whose special function it is to rear and teach the youth of the country: not for all, it may be, but certainly for the more select portion who influence the general body.

I am well aware that the eminent men who have left their mark on the education of the past have owed their influence mainly to some profound religious or moral impulse and not to any philosophical system. This is true alike of pre-Christian philosopher, Christian pietist, and utilitarian moralist. Nor indeed can any teacher or director of education be held to occupy a place that fits him, if he finds himself discharging the functions of an instructor of youth or a superintendent of schools, unsupported, undirected, and unconsoled in his daily task by a moral or religious purpose.

Such a man has missed his vocation. And yet we cannot afford to dispense with the services of many men who lack this professional qualification. We cannot afford to close the ranks of the teaching profession against all save those whose true vocation it is. The ministry of the school, like the ministry of the church, must be content often to use weapons of inferior temper. For every three millions of the population we need about five thousand teachers, excluding those in the higher seats of learning and private governesses and tutors. To expect to find so large a number of devout, zealous, sympathetic, child-loving men and women as this, is a fond imagination. All the more difficult is it to command an adequate supply of this class, that the church attracts into its ranks by a prior claim so large a proportion of the men of enthusiastic temper and ideal aims. Luther's dictum, that had he not been a preacher he would have been a teacher, is still the most that any will say. It showed Luther's penetration that he said even so much at a time when the school was so misunderstood and misprized. "I know," he says, "that this work, next to the office of preacher, is the most profitable, the greatest, and the best. Nay, I know not even which is the better of the two. For it is hard to make old dogs tame and old rogues upright; at which task, nevertheless, the preacher's office labours and often labours in vain. For young trees be more easily bent and trained howbeit some should break in the effort. Beloved, count it one of the highest virtues upon earth to educate faith-

fully the children of others, which so few, and scarcely any, do by their own." By these words, by his earnest appeals to the civil magistracy to care for the education, not of the few but of the many, and by the share he took in reorganizing schools, Luther connected the education of the young indissolubly with the aim and method of the Protestant Reformation. Nor were his companions and followers slow to recognize the significance of their master's words. Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Knox were full of the enthusiasm of the educator; and John Sturm practically exhibited at his renowned institution in Strasburg what the school could be made, even with the limited materials then at its command. Ideas, however, are slow of transforming themselves into practical facts. The day is probably still distant when the words of Luther will be reversed, and men who feel called to labour for the moral and spiritual good of their fellow-men will say, "If I must relinquish the office of teacher, I would be a preacher;" and yet this is, after all, only the logical conclusion of Luther's own argument. As things actually are, however, it is vain, we repeat, to think that we can recruit the ranks of the teaching profession with men and women who are conscious that they have a "message" to children and youths; and the question accordingly becomes an urgent one, How can we *create* zeal tempered with judgment, judgment moved by zeal? how can the ideal aims and the skilled methods of the few be conveyed into the rank and file of the profession—the multitude of

uninspired, but we may presume conscientious, workers who, from various causes, find themselves engaged in the duties of the school-room? Even second-hand inspiration is a great gain to the community. If we could fill all the teachers of our children with a lofty motive and supply them with a sound method of procedure, we should certainly do more to dignify their own lives, and to sustain the moral vigour and soundness of the whole nation through their agency, than by any other means. This is truly a great question—a question for States and for Councils, and one which it is especially incumbent on Universities, as the teachers of teachers, to take up and carry to an issue.

The thoughtful student of education in its national relations may at once start an objection to the view of the schoolmaster's function we have indicated, in which there is unhappily some truth. He will say that, "if education, as distinct from mere instruction, be essentially spiritual in its motives and aims, the conflicting views of religious truth and practice that are prevalent make it impossible for any State to give effect to such a conception without trenching on the liberty of individual citizens. The logical issue, in the sphere of practical politics, of such a divided state of opinion is a subversion of education altogether in any true or spiritual sense, and involves the limitation of it to the work of disciplining intelligence and conveying such information as may be of practical utility in the work of life. To this, it is true, may be added

such instruction in practical moralities as will rear good citizens : but this is all." Even if we accepted this limited conception of the work of the school, we should still find room for the educational element. But we are not disposed to accept it. It is true that religious differences exist, but they are differences largely ecclesiastical and partly theological. There is little difference of opinion as to what constitutes the Christian life ; and it is the life, not the forms of theological dogma, with which the school-teacher has chiefly to do. In the present state of religious parties it has been found necessary, in some countries at least, to relegate detailed dogmatic instruction to the churches, or to organizations set on foot and controlled by them. But it is not a sound conclusion from this unhappy necessity that a schoolmaster of truly religious temper is not at liberty even in those countries to *assume* distinctively Christian doctrine, and, by help of this silent assumption, to raise his intellectual and moral teaching into a spiritual sphere. He may animate all he does with the religious principles and aspirations that control his own life, and he will thereby give ethical significance to his daily task. Of this we may be assured, that it is impossible to sustain moral instruction at a high level or to give to it its true meaning in relation to the life and destiny of a human being, if it be not fused into one whole with the emotion and passion which can be drawn from the spiritual and religious life alone. Nay, without this spiritual element it might easily be shown that there

can be no true ethical discipline. Even the teacher who finds it necessary to confine himself to bald moralities, because, having lost his own way, he has denied the divine life and taken refuge in agnosticism, has to resort to the "enthusiasm of humanity" as a source of inspiration, if he is to be more than a mere machine. This itself serves as a kind of religion—spurious it is true, but yet giving forth a certain warmth to sustain the worker, and a light which, though flickering and unstable, yet serves in some sort to steady his uncertain steps. At best, it is a light that rules the night and borrows all it has of virtue from the true sun that makes the day. Men of this type of mind, however, rarely take to school-work, either in Great Britain or America; nor is it desirable they should. An instructor of youth ought to find himself in substantial accord with the religious life of the people among whom he works. Nor is it often otherwise.

But the spiritual aim is not enough. A certain mould of *character* is needed. The heaven-born teacher is, like the poet, rare. He must exhibit the authority of law, and this is never arbitrary, but always calm, equable, just. Rigid as maintainer of law, his judgments, and still more his penalties, must yet lean to mercy's side. He must possess that humility of mind which makes him reverence the spirits of children, as purer than his own, and as full of spiritual possibilities, which for himself, it may be, are prematurely foreclosed. He must be endowed

with a sympathetic power allied to genius, whereby he may be able daily to be himself a child, to understand the failures and perversities of unformed wills, and the efforts and blunderings of travailing intelligences. His manner must be direct, candid, sincere, and friendly, yet, withal, suggestive of high purpose and unbending law. He must dominate his school as its presiding genius, its spiritual standard, its type of culture ; and yet he must be a child among children, a boy among boys, a youth among youths. Where are we to find men in whom opposites are thus reconciled, and whose hearts at the same time are alive with a love of humanity and glow with a religious zeal—men “moulded by God,” as Thomas Fuller says—for a schoolmaster’s life ? It is precisely because we cannot hope to find them in any large numbers that there is imposed on us the duty of devising some means of bringing young men and women, whose habit of mind or tendency of nature leads them to devote themselves to the education of others, under the guiding influence of older men who can inspire them with the true aims of the educator and the methods by which these can best be attained. Aspirants of the finer temper will quickly perceive under such guidance the truly spiritual task of the teacher ; and the duller minds will, by the exhibition of the philosophy or rationale of education, be at least intellectually guided, if not also morally inspired, to form an adequate conception of their function in the community. They will go forth furnished with ideals

and methods which cannot fail to influence and direct their professional activity. It is in the philosophy of human nature as applied to the growth of mind and body, that we find not merely a scientific basis for the teacher's work, but also a means of evoking and even creating the true spirit of the educator. Philosophy offers him a rationalized conception of the ends and aims of the life of man which carries conviction as reasoned truth. The possession of this, even if there were nothing else, would be a great gain to future schoolmasters. The practical relation of the philosophy he studies and accepts to the subjects, methods, and organization of instruction, and, above all, to the method of moral training, throws the light of science on what would otherwise be at best empirical rules. The instruction of the normal school in methods is good in its place and way, but all empirical methodology, while failing to elevate the teacher, binds him down and makes him a pedant: philosophical methodology, on the other hand, especially if enriched with the history of education, gives him the freedom and liberty of the spirit.

Any other view than that which we here advocate of the schoolmaster's training rests on the opinion either that teaching is an instinct or knack and that there is consequently neither a science nor a teachable method of education; or that the schoolmaster's duty is one of instruction only, and that the acquisition of good methods of instruction is a sufficient, and the only practicable, preparation. The former opinion

we may in these days pass by as dead. The latter is bound up with the larger question of a schoolmaster's vocation. But even assuming that a knowledge of methods of instruction is an adequate preparation, it is easy to show that these must be wooden and inflexible if they rest on empiricism, or are dogmatically taught, and that they are incapable of being rationalized save on the assumption of a definite philosophy of mind. Philosophy tests and checks, while it explains, methods, and thus raises the teacher out of the ruts of traditionalism and the "customs of the trade." It transforms him, indeed, from a tradesman into the member of a profession, and nothing else can do so. If to his philosophical understanding of method he adds that higher view of his calling which entitles him to the name of educator, and endeavours to widen his philosophy so as to cover the larger sphere, the public voice will assign him his true place in the social system; and that will be a place that will satisfy every legitimate ambition. He will be measured, in truth, by his own standard of his own work. We demur to the opinion that because a master is departmental only, as must generally be the case in high-schools, his sphere is limited by the subjects in which he instructs. To the head-master doubtless specially belongs the general discipline and educative character of the school; but he will be powerless unless each of his departmental assistants understand his disciplinary aim and assist him in giving effect to it. This thorough accord between

heads and assistants will certainly be secured when each has studied the philosophy of his art and so found common ground of action, and does not, as now, accept customs and rules that are merely arbitrary and capricious and do not affiliate themselves to sound and rationalized methods.

The hardness and self-complacency that characterize the men whose arbitrary caprice or inherited dogmatism determines what they shall do and how they shall do it, has given us the "dominie" of tradition, and has served to perpetuate the feeling that schoolmaster and slave are still, as in Roman times, almost interchangeable terms. We venture to affirm that it is very seldom that a man of cultivation cares to sustain a conversation with a thorough schoolmaster even in these our days, unless the latter happen to be a man whose original researches or literary occupations have made him something more than a mere schoolmaster. Nothing can change this, we are convinced, save the clear acceptance, by the whole body of schoolmasters, of education and not mere instruction as their function, and such a philosophic study of their subject as will justify them in making so high a claim. The whole race of masters in the public schools of England have risen in social estimation since Arnold of Rugby's time. And this not alone by the reflection on the whole body of the fame of Arnold, but because they have largely, through the Rugby influence, been animated by a deeper moral spirit in their work. When they advance still

further, and, in a spirit of reality, accept the whole *education* of the boy as their task, and seek to enlighten their methods with a philosophy which interprets the word education for them, their position will be second to that of no profession. The ablest minds may then, perchance, be attracted to a work so potent in its influence on the destinies of their country. We do not desire to create mere enthusiasts. Undirected and uncontrolled enthusiasm burns out, and leaves only ashes behind. The genuine enthusiast always subjects himself to law if his work is to be effective and permanent. The fierce heat of the sun itself attains its ends in the domain of nature by working according to the law of each kind. Where it does not do this, it destroys. So with the fire of the educational enthusiast. We desire to see the ardour of the youthful schoolmaster so founded on principle and controlled by intellectual purpose that it will last a lifetime; and this is possible only by timely subjection to the order and law which philosophy alone can give.

To the question, How comes it that a subject so important in its bearings on the well-being of the State has received such tardy recognition? the answer is easy. If the duty of educating the masses of the people has been of such slow growth as to have taken practical shape in a country such as England only within the last few years, we can scarcely be surprised that the philosophy of education has still to struggle for a place. State necessities must long forerun State

ideals. The recent institution of chairs of the Institutes and History of Education in the Scottish Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrew although the work of private hands, indicates an acceptance by these seats of learning of the duty they owe to the education of the people, which must ere long influence other universities, and through them the statesmen who guide national education both in England and America. Already the question has been under the consideration of the ancient University of Oxford, while at Cambridge the founding of lectureships, which will ere long, we hope, become professorships, has been already resolved upon.

While the primary education of the people was in arrear it was inevitable that the philosophy of education should stand still. It is only when the machinery of a nation's education has been set up that the question of the best application of that machinery presses. Again, it is in the primary school that educational aim and method most distinctly force themselves on our attention. It is chiefly in the initiation of the human mind to knowledge, and in the formation of the still plastic character of childhood, that questions of aim and method suggest themselves for solution. When solved in this sphere they are solved also for the higher stages of secondary and university instruction. The upper schools of a country will be insensibly moulded by the aims and methods of the people's schools, and are already being so moulded.

Another obstacle in the way of the recognition of the philosophy of education as a subject within the range of practical politics has been the backward state of the science of psychology. A glance at history will satisfy us that a close connection subsists between psychology and solid advances in education. The crude and generalized psychology of ancient Greece was boldly applied by Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle to education. They regarded this subject as a vital part of political philosophy, and they applied their psychology, such as it was, with brilliant success. But their views on education, admirable as they are, were necessarily restricted by their psychology, and by their conception of the aim and destiny of man and of the State. Plato's *Republic*, while containing his most matured views on philosophical questions and on the idea of a State, is also a treatise on education. It is not, however, a treatise on method, but rather on the general aims of education in which the Doric and Ionic ideas are woven together into a unity by philosophy. For four centuries the opinions of Plato and Aristotle on education governed the civilized world, and it was not till the eminent Roman teacher Quintilian recorded his experience and practice that any marked step in advance was taken. Quintilian's book is in marked contrast to Plato's. It is not a philosophical speculation, but rather a treatise on method from the hand of a practical schoolmaster. As the first book on method, it marks an epoch. When education again passed into the hands of the

Christian Church, instructions in the new doctrine of Christ and his apostles became naturally the main end. The individual had now an infinite value in himself as an immortal spirit, and the natural consequence of this novel thought would probably have been a great movement in the interests of popular education had the state of society admitted of it. The methods of instruction practised in the monastery schools for a thousand years degenerated grievously because there was no philosophy and no method. We cannot imagine that this would have happened had the "Institutions" of Quintilian not been, during all that period, lost. It was only at the time of the Reformation that an interest in methods of instruction began again to show itself, among the Jesuits on the one hand, and the Reformers on the other. Even the indifferent and sceptical mind of Montaigne saw that the "greatest and most important problem of human science was the rearing and education of children." But the attention which the Reformers directed to educational method was soon relaxed, notwithstanding the labours of Melancthon, Dean Colet, Roger Ascham, and Sturm. Roger Ascham's "Scholemaster," written in the time of Elizabeth, had not effected much, admirable as it was as a school guide and as a specimen of literary execution. It was not a philosophical treatise, but, like Quintilian's "Institutions," a book on method only. It was the application of vigorous English common-sense to the work which the teacher had to do ; and allowing for some defects and for occasional

exaggeration and over-sanguineness of expectation, it still remains a book which is full of instruction for the modern teacher of language. Yet the English pedagogic world was content to drop it out of mind, and to go on by "rule of thumb," suicidally proclaiming that their work was neither a science nor an art, and that they themselves consequently were only boy-drivers and dominies. With the Baconian movement came a new interest in psychology, and education began at last to ally itself formally with philosophy.

The man who in 1604 gave expression to the commonly felt need of educational reform was Wolfgang Ratich (Ratke), a native of Holstein, and the impulse which he gave we still feel. The views that he advocated, while suggested by a deep consideration of the need of education for the whole people and the consequent necessity of finding a universal method, were the fruit of a reaction against the domination of words over things, and may easily be traced to the influence of Bacon and the "Novum Organon." As knowledge of things was now, in the opinion of educational reformers, to take the place of a knowledge of words, and as the new philosophy taught that it was by induction only that we could interpret nature, the watchwords of Ratich and his followers were, "Omnia per inductionem et experimentum," and again, "Vetustas cessit; Ratio vicit." After the fashion of enthusiasts, Ratich prosecuted his objects by worrying all in authority, and finally succeeded in getting his scheme remitted by the German Diet to certain pro-

fessors in Giessen and Jena, to be reported on by them. The words they used in submitting their report are worth quoting, as containing the first authoritative statement known to us of the close connection that subsists between psychology and education. "It is not enough," they say, "that a man should carry on the work of instructor according to his own fancy and opinion of what is right, or in dependence on his native discretion and natural ability; but to this work there belongs a special art, viz., the art of instruction, which no less than other arts has its fixed ground and assured rules; and these arise not only out of the understanding, memory, sense, yea, out of the whole nature of man, but also out of the characteristics of languages, art, and sciences." When Ratich began his educational mission, the internal state of schools seems to have been little better than when Melancthon and Sturm effected such great improvements. There had been a relapse. Latin (with here and there a little Greek and arithmetic) was the sole instrument of instruction; and even this was badly taught. Dreary generalizations of language rules, covering the whole field of grammar, including even exceptions, and all these written in barbarous Latinity, had to be committed to memory by the unhappy pupils. This, with the reading of Latin authors, but with little regard to the order of reading and with no attempt even at the literary and historical instruction which ought to have accompanied the reading of these authors, constituted the school

curriculum. The literary humanistic culture which now mainly sustains Latin in its time-honoured place in the school does not seem to have been thought of. The wave of the Renaissance seems to have exhausted itself. We do not propose to enter here into the system of Ratich, but as it was the first modern attempt at once to philosophize on the subject of education and to furnish a practical method, it is worth our while to summarize his leading positions. These were: 1. Everything according to the order and course of nature: for all teaching and learning which is contrary to nature and violent, is hurtful, and weakens nature. 2. Not more than one thing at a time; for nothing is more obstructive to the progress of the understanding than learning many things together and at the same time. Therefore treat one thing thoroughly and then go on to another. Every language may be learned out of one author. 3. Repeat one thing often; for what is often repeated is imprinted on the understanding deeply and thoroughly. Many things crossing one another confuse and overload the understanding. Here Ratich borrowed the Jesuit maxim, *Repetitio mater studiorum*. 4. Everything in the mother tongue first. The advantage of this is, that the young learner has to think only of the things which he has to learn. 5. Everything without coercion; for through compulsion and blows we disgust youth with studies, so that they put themselves in an attitude of hostility towards them. It is also against nature. . . . The

pupil should not be afraid of the master, but love him and hold him in honour; and this happens if the master rightly discharges his office. 6. Nothing is to be learned by heart; for much learning by heart detracts from the intelligence and acuteness. If a thing, being understood, is imprinted on the mind by frequent repetition, memory follows of its own accord. 7. Uniformity in all things, as well in what concerns the learning of an art as in the books used and the rules to be acquired. The grammars of the various languages should be as much alike as the differences of the languages admit of. 8. First, a thing in itself, and then the *way* of a thing. No rules till one has given the matter of the author and of the language. Rules without the materials on which the rules are based confuse the understanding. 9. "Omnia per inductionem et experimentum." Without subscribing to all these canons, we yet recognize in them the outline of a complete scheme of method; and we may find in them, moreover, the germ of all succeeding attempts to methodize the art of instruction. The defects of the Ratichian system consists in its too purely intellectual character, and in the shallowness of its philosophic basis. But he did not wholly neglect the educational, as distinct from the instructional, part of his subject. His innovations in the matter of discipline, indeed, though somewhat whimsical, were in the right direction. To attract to learning rather than to coerce, was his aim; and he was so anxious to preserve the purity of the intel-

lectual and moral relation between master and scholar, that one of his plans was to leave the discipline (in the sense of coercion) in the hands of a separate authority, whom he named the scholarch. The misery to which young humanity was in those days subject, and which seemed to be accepted as a necessary accompaniment of all learning, may be learned from many authorities, who confirm the words of Balthasar Schupp, written when Ratich was approaching the end of his disappointed career. "I must confess," says Schupp, "that owing to the vexations, diffuseness, and intricacy, and the scholastic tyranny which prevails in our schools, many a fine spirit is deterred from study. The ancient Latins named a school *Ludus*; many schoolmasters have, however, made it a *carnificina*, or place of torture. If one should perchance pass by a place where such a scholastic tyrant rules, *ubi plus nocet quam docet*, one may hear a pitiful howling and lamentation, as if Phalaris himself held his court there, and as if it were a den of the Furies rather than of the liberal arts. If I had a dog which I loved I would not hand him over to these beasts, much less a son."

Passing from Ratich, who may be held to represent in the field of education the new school of philosophy inaugurated by Bacon, we find the philosophy and method of education next taken up by his immediate successor Comenius. The tractate of John Milton, published soon after the appearance of the first works of Comenius, did not aim at

expounding a philosophy or method of education, but rather at laying down the subjects and order of instruction ; and notwithstanding many exquisite passages, it contributed, we should think, very little to the progress of thought on the subject. Amos Comenius, the pious bishop of the Moravians, inherited the ideas of Ratich (although the precise extent of his indebtedness is uncertain), but being a man of more systematic mind he was not content with them as they stood. He had pre-eminently an organizing intellect, and the result of his labours was the production of a work which we believe to have been the first attempt to work out the whole methodology of education on the basis of a definite scheme of philosophy. This philosophy was of an eclectic character, and while resting on Christian theology, borrowed not a little from Plato and Aristotle. The leading idea of his system, as indeed it must be the leading idea of all educational method, is that we ought to proceed according to nature. In his principal treatise, published in 1627, he begins dogmatically *ab ovo* by laying down certain propositions regarding man, from which he instantly proceeds to make deductions. His first proposition, for example, is that man is the last, most complete, and the most excellent of living creatures. His second proposition is that the final end of man lies beyond this life ; and here he points out that man's life is threefold—vegetable, animal, and intellectual or spiritual. The first nowhere manifests itself outside the body, the second

stretches forth to objects through the operation of the senses, the third is able to exist separately as well as in the body. The third general proposition is that life is only a preparation for an eternal life; the visible world is a seed-plot, a boarding-house and a training-school for man. The fourth proposition is that there are three steps of preparation for eternity: to know one's self and all things, to have power over all things and one's self, and to refer all things to God, the source of all. These requirements are summed up in the words *Eruditio, Virtus, Religio*. The seeds of all these are in us by nature, and the object of education is to develop them. How is this to be done? By recognizing a law and order in man's growth, as in the realm of nature. Let us, then, find the law and order of nature, and we shall find the law, order, and method of education. Proceeding on this track, Comenius lays down a large number of general principles of nature, which he at once transfers to the sphere of education, deducing from them rules of method. Moral and religious instruction, questions of school-management and of school-organization, are all considered in detail from the same point of view. It is scarcely necessary to say that the attempt to carry out a parallelism of process in the operations of nature and in the educating of a mind fails in the hands of Comenius, and leads to a forcing of the argument, and to the propounding of analogies which are not true analogies. This straining of parallelism, while it vitiates the argument as a logical whole, is

yet fruitful of many suggestions. It does not always fail. The practical outcome of his philosophic treatment is indeed almost always good. There is scarcely a method in teaching or a device in class-management in the present day accepted as final which may not be found in Comenius.

Like Ratich, Comenius warred against the mere word-teaching of his time. "Id agendum est," says Seneca, "ut non verbis serviamus sed sensibus." The scholastic maxim, "Nihil est in intellectu nisi quod prius in sensu," was accepted by him as absolute in the school. His great aim was to teach about *things*—all things in heaven and earth—through language, and language again by the *presentation to the mind of all things*.

In moral instruction Comenius gives thirteen canons, and he has a most instructive chapter on the teaching of religion. In all these things he was far ahead not only of his own, but even of the present, time. His philosophical system yielded him thoughts on the organization of schools as well as of the instruction to be given in them. He was the first to conceive the idea of the infant school under the name of the "mother-school;" and his gradation of schools was so well devised, that, with very slight modifications, it now constitutes the State system of Germany.

The merits of Comenius are mainly due to the fruitfulness of his philosophical ideas, inadequate as these were; and if we are to mark his defects, it is to his philosophy also we must look as the source

and explanation of these. Like many men of his time, he was under the commanding influence of the Baconian Induction, which had directed the attention of men away from grammatical niceties and scholastic subtleties, to the external realities of nature. He was consequently a Realist in education. When he came to deal with method he had not, however, the full advantage of the inductive method as applied to psychology. Inductive psychology, indeed, was in its infancy. He, like many others then and now, was driven by a strong feeling of reaction against word-teaching and logical subtleties, to a belief in the omnipotence of a knowledge of the realities of nature and man to reform [the human race. Such expectations could lead only to disappointment. Discipline of intelligence simply as discipline, and discipline of will in the moral sphere, were alike subordinated to mere information. Even in the moral sphere, to which Comenius gave more prominence than it has since received, mere instruction (spite of his motto, *Agenda agendo*) was to accomplish all or almost all. Notwithstanding these defects, we find in the writings of this remarkable man the germ of all succeeding educational reform.

We have dwelt thus long on Ratich and Comenius, that we may show the close connection that subsists between education and the philosophy of mind. The art of education rest on the methodology, and the methodology of education, again, rests on psychology, while psychology is only a part of our larger philo-

sophy of man. A system may be thus elaborated ; and it is from systematized and thoroughgoing elaborations that we learn most, even when we find it necessary to set aside the system itself as radically defective. The whole history of philosophy is an illustration of this. And it is not surprising that it should be so ; for the moment a man imposes on himself the work of systematizing his reasoned convictions, he is driven of necessity to find for them some broad and solid foundation ; and, working inductively and deductively, to fit his thought into a connected and logical whole. This effort serves as a test of his doctrine applied by himself before it is exposed to the criticism of other minds.

We have had many excellent essays on education since Comenius's time, of which the most important is that of John Locke ; many schemes of educational organization ; many social treatises on the philosophy of education, such as those of Rousseau and Pestalozzi ; many elaborate applications of the German philosophical systems of Kant, Herbart, Hegel, and Beneke, to the subject of education in general ; many treatises on methods, more especially those called into existence by the normal schools of America, Germany, France, and Great Britain ; but we have had only partial attempts to lay a psychological foundation for education, and to deduce from this, aided by the experiential inductions provided by the actual work of a school, a reasoned and coherent system of methodology and school practice. That we shall

have such attempts in the future as our knowledge of mind, and of the physiology or material basis of mind, extends, we have no doubt. The conviction will gradually force itself on men's minds, that in the training of a great profession it is only by a well-conceived scientific preparation that we can give method and law to educational genius, while we supply the lack of genius in that large proportion of aspirants who seek to enter the profession, from honourable motives certainly, but without any strong educational impulse.

Locke's tendencies are all realistic and utilitarian. And it is a remarkable fact that it is this realistic impulse, if we may so name it, which has given us our best and ablest works on education in England and France. Passing over numerous books of great practical value but of unambitious aim and touching only parts of the field, we do not reach an English writer on education of philosophical rank and aim till we come to Mr. Herbert Spencer—himself also a realist, who affects to deal with the whole range of the science. He puts before us in a rational form, frequently commanding our hearty assent, the position of the "modern" school who advocate instruction in realities as of supreme importance. Even the opponent of Mr. Spencer must be thankful to him for it—not merely because of the lucid logic of his reasoning, but for a philosophic statement which, merely because it is philosophic, minimizes the distance between the utilitarian school and its opponents. This is a matter

of great importance, because if the education of a country is to be properly organized it is desirable that a mutual understanding should be arrived at by different schools of thought.

If we wish to see how the philosophy of education may influence for better or worse the whole life of a nation, we have only to read Mr. Spencer's book. He tells us that the aim of all sound education is to train to "the right ruling of conduct in all directions and in all circumstances," and is an answer to the question, "How to live?" He then proceeds to indicate a system of instruction which shall bring youth into an intelligent practical relation with the world in which they have to work. The error here is that which we have found in preceding realists, notably Comenius, viz., that it is by instruction or information that we educate. It is true that when Mr. Spencer comes to deal with method he insists on instruction being determined in its successive stages by the laws of the normal evolution of intelligence, if it is to be effectual for its end; but still it is instruction and the order of instruction which is the governing idea of his philosophy of education. Not that the discipline of intellect is altogether ignored by him. On the contrary, his chapter on Intellectual Education is one of the most valuable in his book. But even here it is not discipline in the best acceptation of that word, but the development of intelligence as based on a training of the senses and proceeding therefrom in orderly evolution, that he urges on his

reader. We believe that every thoughtful educationalist will accept Mr. Spencer's reasonings so far as they go. Idealists and realists must meet here. The intelligence proceeds inductively in acquiring knowledge, and the teacher, if he be truly an educator, must initiate into all knowledge also inductively. The universal canons are: "From the Concrete to the Abstract," "From the Particular to the General." But this having been done, what then? The intelligence, by moving in accordance with its laws, is certainly, we freely admit, trained; but is it, in the true acceptance of the term, *disciplined*? This throws us back on the further question, What do we mean by the discipline of intelligence; and when we have disciplined it what have we gained? Is the game worth the candle? Such questions belong to the philosophy of education, and they are not idle questions. On the answer depends the subjects taught in our schools, the aim of instruction, the organization of instruction, and the methods of instruction. The philosophy of Herbert Spencer, and we may add of all empirists such as Professor Bain, offers us no adequate solution of the question—is indeed, if consistent, incapable of doing so. In moral education, again, Mr. Spencer's chapter is full of wisdom, and suggests even more than it directly inculcates. His two leading principles—that the educator's object is to rear a self-governing human being and not a being to be governed by others, and that punishment should be the natural consequences of acts—are, so far as they go, sound. But as

constituting the whole moral aim of education, this, to our thinking, is very defective, while the penalty suggested is adequate to the guidance of boyhood and youth only within very narrow limits.

As water cannot rise higher than the level of its source, so an educational theory cannot rise higher than the philosophy from which it emanates. If we hold that man is a being who seeks after ideals both in the intellectual and in the moral world, then, assuredly, the ideals of holiness; purity; integrity, courage, self-sacrifice, are to be set up before the boy and youth, and our teaching should be so directed as to promote the growth of those ideals. Wherein consists the inner penalty of a failure in purity or integrity if these virtues are to be degraded to the position of being the product of a mere correlation of the individual and his wants with external conditions—a correlation so adjusted as to secure the most and the best? It is impossible, it seems to us, that an educational system that looks no higher than this of utilitarianism can furnish a motive to the teacher or elevate the human race, although it may suffice to hold society together. The boy, the youth, and the man must have a type of excellence after which they strive—ideas in which to live, and, above all, an ideal to contemplate higher than any that mere prudential morality can furnish. A perfect type of mere prudential morality would, in point of fact, be necessarily an insufferable prig and pedant. Our moral ideal must have in it the elements of infinitude that it may

call forth an infinite striving, and the characteristics of the perfectly beautiful that it may draw us by the cords of love.

We have said that the educational theory of Mr. Spencer (and we cite him as representative of an influential school) is inadequate in the aim it proposes to itself, both in the intellectual and the moral sphere, and consequently also in its methods. We say inadequate, for, so far as they extend, the aims and method are, speaking generally, to be accepted. Education ceases to be a work of surpassing importance if its aim be not the highest possible for man ; and the educator who abnegates ideals and the spiritual life thereby places himself on a level lower than that on which we should wish to find him. The depression of his aim depresses likewise the methods to be pursued, and his whole function and position in the social system. The animating forces of his own individual life must also be the aims of his professional activity in the school. His ideal for others, he may rest assured, cannot rise above his ideal for himself.

If we do not accord to man something more than a power of reacting against external impressions and co-ordinating these by virtue of association, we miss the true meaning of his existence. The central force which we call *Ego*, and of which the essential and connate characteristic is *Will*, seeks to connect itself with limitless aims and eternal ideas. It will be satisfied with nothing less. Contemplating steadily

man as distinctively and *par éminence* a living will among the forces of nature, self-conscious by virtue of that will, and striving instinctively to find God as the end as well as fountain of his being, we are at once supplied with a most fruitful principle. We are furnished with aims and methods of education which, while embracing the whole sphere of knowledge and mere prudential activity claimed by the propounders of a less adequate conception of man's life and destiny, stretch into regions which are of necessity, and by their own showing, an unknown and unknowable world to the sensationalist.

Let us consider for a moment how the view of the philosophy of man that we have indicated affects the education we seek to give to the young, that we may exemplify still further the close connection that subsists between a nation's philosophy and its educational aims and methods. If man be pre-eminently a will; if it be a capable and completely fashioned will that we as educators desire to help each of our pupils to realize for himself; if year by year our object is to aid this pure spiritual force to risk above the environment of nature and be truly *itself*, our educational task is at once defined for us. Will, as spiritual force and supremacy over nature (which term of course includes the appetites and desires of our human nature), must in the sphere of intelligence be disciplined with a view to its easy and ready application to objects of knowledge and to the affairs of life. Discrimination, discernment, sustained power of self-ap-

plication—these are the qualities of intelligence which we must foster. From the purely practical point of view, is it not the fact that these are the characteristics by which one man excels another in the business of life? Discipline then is, according to our conception of the philosophy of man, our chief intellectual end as educators. But this discipline of the will which, as the specific characteristic of man, is the basis of intelligence, is not enough if we regard it merely as pure spiritual force; it moves, in accordance with certain laws, to the acquisition of knowledge, and to the discrimination of the true and right among the complex materials of our daily life. These laws are sufficiently indicated in the ordinary psychological logic of induction and deduction. We must then in the subjects we teach, and, above all, in our method of teaching, work the intelligence in the line of these laws. This may be called training, as distinct from disciplining, though it is manifestly difficult to introduce a distinction here. Mere force will not carry mind to its aim; it proceeds by a way, and that way is method. The material which we give for this will and method to work in, is a matter of great importance doubtless, but the consideration of this must always be governed by the higher object of all education, which is training and discipline. Starting from this point, we have to consider the material in which each and all of us have to work—the environment of our lives provided for us in the divine order, and to which we must loyally conform. It seems to us that

there ought to be little difficulty in determining the subjects of instruction and the order of instruction, if we allow the question of intellectual discipline and method to dominate the question of the materials of school-work.

In the moral sphere, again, Will stands pre-eminent. It is this that we have to cultivate. In the religious sphere we have, following at once Aristotle and the Christian doctrine, to direct the will and to fix it in the contemplation of the divine. It can ultimately find satisfaction for its restless activity only in spiritual ideas and in God. Comparatively little value is to be attached by the educator to moral instruction, save in so far as it is directed and inspired by religion. It is this marriage of the moral and the spiritual that produces what may be denoted by one name—the ethical life. The discipline of the will in mere understanding and knowing contributes also its share to true ethical discipline. The unity of educational result may be in truth summed up in the single word, ethical. Our aim in the school, therefore, is an ethical aim, and all we do is of true value only in so far as it contributes to this—the final cause of all our teaching. By keeping this purpose steadily in view, we alone truly educate a human being. Unity of purpose and method, both in the intellectual and moral sphere, is thereby secured. It is some such unity of purpose and method which the study of the philosophy of education must give if it is to supply the place of native inspiration to the teacher.

We are aware that the elements of mental science are already taught in some normal schools in England and America. We should desire to see this subject included in the curriculum of every normal school. But even then the philosophy of education in any adequate sense would not be taught. It is only by connecting this subject closely with the philosophical faculty in all our universities, where students are being carried through a higher course of instruction than is practicable at normal schools, that it can receive thorough scientific and historical treatment. It is true that only a small proportion of the teachers of a country would even in that event come under the influence of philosophy; for only a small proportion have the qualifications necessary for a university career and can find the necessary time to prosecute it. But it is with this subject as with all others. The fact that it was cultivated in the universities would gain for it respect and attention outside the university walls. The few who, after a course in the philosophy of education, might go forth as educators, would carry with them an influence that would extend to every corner of the profession. The entire body of teachers would begin to affiliate themselves in spirit to the universities, and seek guidance thence. United by the bond not merely of a common occupation but of a common professional standard of aim and work, the university and the humblest infant-school would join hands. The teaching body thus bound together would become a national institution, in the sense in

which the church was, and in Great Britain still is, an institution ; an institution, moreover, of great power and importance, because broader in its conception and aims than the church, and commanding, in these days at least, more universal sympathy. The schoolmaster would then take rank with the professions, which at present he can scarcely be said to do, either in England or America. In this new republican hierarchy (if we may conjoin almost contradictory terms) the civil power would find its best friend and its surest guarantee of law, order, and stability. It is mainly, indeed, in the hope of aiding in the organization of a new institution which shall contribute to order and civilization in the midst of the disorganizing forces by which society is surrounded that we advocate a philosophical basis of training for the teacher. And as to the teacher himself ; he can hope to hold the social position which he desires, only when he is a recognized social influence and is a member of a compact organization which stands prominently before the public as an independent profession. It is in the philosophy and history of education alone that the members of the craft can find a common ground of genuine intellectual professional life, and a true and worthy union of interests and aims.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE DELIVERED
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,
IN THE CLASS OF THE "THEORY,
HISTORY, AND ART OF EDUCATION."

I PURPOSE, on this occasion, to confine myself to a few colloquial remarks suggested by the present relation of the Education Department to Scotland. It is impossible for us to have State control of our educational system which will be satisfactory to the country, until we have its centre of activity transferred from London to Edinburgh; but, meanwhile, we must make the best of our present circumstances, and we shall perhaps do so most effectually by being liberal of complaint and criticism.

It is a strange, and to those who learn it for the first time, an incredible fact, that while the various Faculties of the Universities of Scotland confer professional degrees in Law, Medicine, Theology, Science (including even Sanitation), Engineering—all having a practical value in the business of life—the degree of the Faculty of Arts confers no professional privilege on

Teachers. Time was when the Arts Degree conferred a *licentia docendi* within the university itself ; now, it does not give the statutory right to hold a school even of the meanest kind. Nine months' instruction in a Training College secures a privilege which is denied to even the Honours' Graduates of the Scottish Universities ! All that the attainment of an Honours Degree can do for the bearer of it is to give him the privilege of going up to be examined along with the nine months' Training College students ! That the Government should demand of all the graduates who intend to be schoolmasters, however distinguished, a knowledge of the principles and art of Education is right and reasonable ; but surely this addition to the Arts' curriculum should be held to suffice.*

It is not for the Universities I speak, but for the country ; and the country, I venture to say, demands that not merely the full Degree, but also a minor Diploma attainable after two years' study, and after one year in the case of those who pass the Three Years' Curriculum Examination, should be within reach of those who propose to adopt the profession of public schoolmaster. How else is the standard of Scottish education in the public schools to be maintained ? *Codes* will fail to do it ; you must have *Men*, and it is the Universities alone which can produce the higher class of men. I do not mean again to argue

* The necessary reform has since been made by the Education Department ; but I let my remarks stand, in the hope that the Department may become alive to the fact that it is possible that it may be wrong on points not yet conceded.

the general question here, or to complain of the Government monopoly conferred upon the Training Colleges to the great detriment of education in Scotland ; but, rather to content myself with adverting to certain aspects of University training which concern teachers as a body, and the country through them. I shall then speak of the present condition and prospects of our public elementary schools.

On the former subject I would remark—*First*, that the University training of a certain proportion of the teachers of the country, who by their influence would sustain the level of all the others, is not only of the greatest importance to schools, but is of vital moment to the intellectual character, moral weight, and social standing of the teaching profession as a whole. *Secondly*, I shall endeavour briefly to show that the Universities provide the only means of affording to the teaching profession a “career :” and a “career” is essential to the life and vigour of every profession.

As to the first point, it is well known that the Government requirements of Training Colleges are such as tend to restrict rather than to promote mental activity. Although the Education Department has a fair defence to make, yet there can be no doubt that, in Scotland at least, Training College studies might with great advantage be considerably liberalized. The knowledge which the pupil-teachers bring with them from the country schools might easily be increased, and the Department would then be justified in relieving the Training College curriculum of the

pressure of those studies, which burden the memory at the expense of the reasoning powers, and which, though they certainly do give a considerable amount of discipline, yet restrict the independent thought, the spiritual activity, the fervour, and imagination of youth. Such studies (to use the words of Quintilian), "detinent atque obruunt ingenia." Brain exercise, to be truly disciplinal, must have some outlook beyond the lesson of the hour, and far beyond the next examination day. Love of a subject for itself has at present no time to grow under the pressure of the multifarious demands made on the time of the student. Intellectual aspiration is curbed; and it is only in the minority that it ultimately survives. And I am satisfied that it survives even in the few, only because they see, looming above and beyond their present work, the more liberal studies of the Universities, holding up a more elevated standard and inviting them to a higher and more congenial exercise of their powers. Were the prospect of enrolling themselves on some future day among the *cives* of a University, as many of them happily do, for ever impossible to them (as is the case with their brethren south of the Tweed), the fire of intellectual ambition, already burning low enough, would, I fear, quite go out.

It is the *culture* of a class which ultimately determines the social estimation in which it is held more than any other one fact. For this culture the teachers of Scotland must look to the Universities. Referring to some who desired a reduction of the standard of

attainment in Training Colleges, the Bishop of Exeter says, in his evidence before the Commission on Popular Education in England in 1861, "I think that it would be far better if you could get schoolmasters with less knowledge and more education, which is commonly what is meant by people who ask for what they call a lower standard" (*p.* 132). The Royal Commissioners for Scotland, appointed in 1865, and among whom were the Duke of Argyll and Lord Moncreiff, say, "If University apart from Normal School training for Masters is imperfect" [imperfect, that is to say, only in so far as it does not provide for the *practical* training of the future teacher], "Normal School training apart from the University seems to be imperfect also. The evidence which we have collected on this point, establishes the conclusion that the most efficient teacher is he who combines both."

I lay nothing to the charge of the Education Department: the preparation with which the young students come to the Training Colleges and the specific object for which they receive free education and scholarships, make it necessary to retain much of the present narrow curriculum. There are many respects, however, in which the system of instruction might be improved; and were the studies more liberalized these seminaries would do better the special work they aim at doing, and which, I willingly concede, they alone are fitted to do effectually, and which they must continue permanently to do. I say permanently, for there can be no doubt that Normal

Schools are now permanent national institutions. All I desire is that the minority whose previous education—obtained it matters not where—fits them for the higher and better training of the University, should not only be permitted to take what the University offers, but *encouraged* to do so in the interests of the education of Scotland. It will be universally admitted that the Training Colleges can never of themselves supply the country with teachers who will take the social position of University men, and *so* sustain a high, moral, and intellectual level for the profession as a whole. A considerable proportion of men trained at the Universities would give tone to the general body. The whole corporation of teachers is interested in this question. All other professions occupy themselves with the qualifications of their members. The other day even the English solicitors were talking of an University qualification for their profession ; we know that both here and in England the qualification for entrance to Church and Bar is a constant subject of corporate interest. Why, then, do we hear so little of this subject from the Chartered Institute ? This one aspect of a profession, the conditions for entering it, is itself sufficient ground, were there no other, for the members who constitute that profession associating themselves. Nay, it would not be difficult to show that it is the chief ground for association in the case of those professions to which the State has not given powers of internal discipline.

There are some who would extend the abolition

of professional qualifications and privileges to every department of the civil organization, and would leave everything to settle itself after a general scramble, the many-headed public being judge. This extreme opinion, held, however, even by few among the most radical, has no life in it; it is a mere passing whim occurring to the mind, even of the leveller, only in its most perverse moods. The more widespread and real political equality becomes, all the more does society need the protection and support of organized institutions possessing a certain vitality and standard of their own ; and such an institution is the Scholastic Profession.

The *second* aspect of this question to be brought into view is this, that the connection of the Universities with the training of public schoolmasters, constitutes the teaching profession a career, and is the only way of constituting it a career.

If the State had £50,000 a year to spend on any profession in the shape of salaries to one thousand men, it would secure a far higher class of public servants, both in respect of special training and intellectual capacity, by having twenty places with incomes varying from £500 to £1500 a year, and distributing the remaining £30,000 unequally, than by giving every man £50 a year from the beginning to the end of his service. This is of the nature of a truism. And yet, somehow, the profession of Teacher is considered to lie outside the motives which are appealed to in every other occupation—even the most sacred. In the

earlier days of the Privy Council system, Sir J. P. Kay Shuttleworth was sanguine enough to hope, nay to expect, that men would be found to enter the profession of elementary teacher from missionary motives. Such an expectation was based on a very imperfect appreciation of facts. I should like to know how many men enter the Church desirous to labour in humble spheres, unknown to fame and heedless of reward. There have always been a few ; but even these, while they give to the Church which they serve the reputation of self-denying zeal, receive back, from the first day of their consecration, the social consideration which that Church has made good for itself in the estimation of the whole world, and are, as it were, invested with all its power and dignity. That there may have been one here and there from whose mind even this feeling was wholly absent I am willing to believe ; but that a man should, with similar self-denial, give himself to the mission of teaching would be the greatest of all self-abnegations, because, as yet, that occupation is only very partially supported by social opinion, and is unrecognized and undignified by Church and State. To sacrifice oneself on these terms would be to be a missionary indeed ! A rare man may be found who is capable of it, and who would be content to labour on, poor and unknown, and to die without even an obituary intimation that he had passed away. But we cannot look to such exceptional motives and exceptional men to do the work of a profession. And it is

absurd to suppose that because men look to the attainment of a modest but adequate reward in reputation and emolument, that, therefore, they do not bring to their profession a pure love of their work and an earnest desire to promote the Kingdom of Christ in Church or School. There are many degrees of the missionary spirit, and whether a man has it in absolute purity or not is known, I suspect, not even to himself.

Let us, then, take it for granted that the immense majority—ninety-five per cent. shall we say?—even of those professions which, like that of the Educator, have to do with the intellectual improvement and moral elevation of man will be attracted to their work by mixed motives—a natural disposition for the special kind of work which they select, a pure desire to do that work efficiently through mere love of efficiency, and a desire for personal reputation, social esteem, and substantial reward.

South of the Tweed the complaint has been general, that at twenty-two a Teacher has as much of the last three as he has at sixty-two; that he attains early—earlier than men in any other profession whatsoever—a very fair income, and there remains stationary. Doubtless there are various kinds of elementary schools, and the young teacher may move from an inferior position to one somewhat better; but they are all on the same social level. In this respect the Teacher is not a professional man, but rather like an artisan who earns at twenty-two the wages of fifty-two. This is a very undesirable state of things; not

for the teacher alone, but, through him, for the nation. Very competent and well-instructed men now enter the profession ; but were there more prospect of promotion the quality of aspirants would unquestionably improve, to the great benefit of society : it matters not how humble the beginning is, if the end be an object of ambition.

Now, it may not at first appear how the privilege of sending out a certain proportion of public school-masters by the Universities would contribute to the constituting of the desired "career." But a little consideration will show how it would work in an educational system like that of Scotland. The University training would connect together the different parts of the system. Men going out with a University diploma would naturally look for appointments in those public schools only in which the Boards desired to have a man fit to prepare boys for the Universities ; the best of the graduates, again, going at once into High Schools of the first or second rank. A man who with a University diploma accepted a town or country public school of the kind I refer to, would look forward to the best schools of this class as the first object of his ambition, and teach under the spur of this hope. His next object of ambition would be to obtain a place in a High School of the second rank, and finally of the first. If he found that the fact of his holding only the minor University diploma was against him—notwithstanding admitted eminence as a teacher—he would, after he had saved a little money, return to the

University for a full degree in Arts or Science. In this way the ordinary public elementary schools of the better class would be connected with the highest positions in the profession, and all ranks be bound together by a common interest.

But it may be said that the gradation of teaching rank, of which I have been speaking, does not go down below University men, and that there is a career consequently only for these. But it is not so. Normal School men who go straight from the Training Colleges to serve in public schools are not left out in the cold ; they have excellent opportunities of raising themselves. A few of the more able and vigorous among these generally come to the University after they have served a few years in the country ; and more would come if the University Arts' teaching had any statutory value for them.

I think I have now shown you that it is through the Universities that the social standing of the teaching profession can alone be sustained ; and also that it is through the same Universities that the profession can alone become a career. No profession, no skilled occupation even, is on a healthy basis unless it afford a career.

Having spoken thus far of the teaching profession, I would now say a few words on the present state and prospects of public school education in Scotland. In doing so I deal with that aspect of the question which touches the "business and bosom" of every resident in

the country parishes who have sons and daughters to educate. I deal, too, with an important commercial question, because one of the commodities which this country has been in the habit of taking into the market of the British empire has been "intellect." In this department of "intellect" Scotland, as Mr. Gladstone once remarked, has been an exporter. It would not be fair to attack the Act of 1872. The Act is not responsible for the admitted depression of higher instruction in the country schools. In the 67th clause of the Act the minutes regulating the administration of Parliamentary grants are ordered to be constructed, subject to the provision "that due care shall be taken by the Scotch Education Department that the standard of education which now exists in the public schools shall not be lowered, and that as far as possible as high a standard shall be maintained in all schools."

We all know what these words pointed to. They had reference solely to that kind of instruction which prepared country lads for the Universities,—instruction in Latin, mathematics, and the elements of Greek. And my conviction is that, had that clause not been inserted, the Act would never have passed. Faith has not been kept with us. For how has the provision been given effect to? By informing teachers that after giving an hour's steady daily work where there is one class (and about two hours' where there are two or more classes) to the instruction of a few promising boys and girls who take Latin and mathematics, they

will be rewarded at the end of the year with 4s. per subject for each boy! We must put the saddle on the right horse, then, and that horse is not the Act, but the Scotch Education Department. The temporary Board appointed to conserve Scottish interests found that its powers of Code-drafting ceased with its first efforts in that direction.

While, however, we must admit that the Code in its influence on that kind of instruction which prepares boys for the Universities is wholly bad, we are far from wishing to attack the Code indiscriminately. It is our duty, on the contrary, to acknowledge that the Code has great merits, and that in many respects it has been of signal benefit to education in Scotland. We must bear in mind that a Code for public elementary schools must be constructed primarily for the benefit of the many, not of the few. If this be so, we take up an indefensible position if we oppose the Code as a whole. Just let us go back fifteen years, and look into the state of elementary education before the introduction of a Code designed to direct the energies of teachers. The Duke of Newcastle's Commission reported in 1861 that the trained teachers throughout the country were good in every respect but one. That exception, however (they go on to say), is a most "important one. It is that the junior classes in the schools, comprehending the great majority of the children, do not learn, or learn imperfectly, the most necessary part of what they come to learn—reading, writing, and arithmetic." There cannot be the slightest doubt as to

the widespread disregard of the simple elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic up to 1861. Even a "good" school meant only a good "highest" class, and as the majority of the children left for work before the age of eleven, the objects of the Parliamentary Grant were clearly not attained.

The case was not quite so bad in Scotland, but still it was bad enough. The cause of the evil was not in the indifference of the schoolmasters so much as in the want of skill in classification and organization and in the defective teaching staff. Comparatively few outside the Normal School men could construct a time-table even in the rudest and crudest way ; and nothing more than this one fact is needed to show that they knew little of school organization, and especially of that part of it which is indispensable to the full effect of a teacher's labours—classification. The powers even of a zealous man were wasted through want of skill. With great expenditure of energy, he was merely beating the air. Of course there were many exceptions ; but, speaking generally, I describe the actual state of the case. A remedy was needed, and that a drastic one. A regulator of the great teaching engine had to be introduced.

The Code then, in so far as it required the teachers to classify with accuracy and to fix a standard of attainment for each successive class—I say *required* advisedly—was a great boon to the education of the country, and corrected an evil which was simply intolerable. Nay more, the Code was a boon in so far

as it *required* (and here again I use the word advisedly) teachers to begin to teach writing and arithmetic on the same day on which they began to teach reading, and also to pay more attention to mere mechanical facility in the use of the mere *instruments* of education. These were the primary objects of the Revised Code; so far, it was educationally sound, and so far it will be, I trust, a permanent institution.

The Privy Council took aim at certain evils, and they hit their mark. But, unfortunately, while curing a particular disease, they set up an unhealthy action in the body scholastic as a whole. The country was resolved to get a substantial commodity in return for its outlay. With this view it concentrated its attention on things which had an admitted value and the aspect of substantiality, and ignored all others. For how could a Code weigh or measure intellectual, moral, or æsthetic results! Here was a difficulty at the threshold. These evidently were regarded as visionary things. If entertained at all, they were entertained with that supercilious contempt of true education, characteristic of minds which find in Marathon and Thermopylæ the insignificant records of mere tribal contests.* The "Department" accordingly made "grants in aid" turn on attendance at school and on individual passes in reading, writing, and ciphering—all *measurable* quantities. Given an arithmetical unit of measure for school work and assign to it the value of a coin of the realm, and you

* Lord Sherbrooke's address to the Institute of Engineers.

could express the working result of each school by so many figures. The annual Report of the Department might have consisted of a big *number*, and nothing more. Any gentleman could have carried it home from the "House" on his thumb-nails—expenditure on one thumb-nail, "results" on the other. What a triumph of administration was this! The "nation of shopkeepers" had got its *quid pro quo*.

Trace the changes made in the Code since 1861, and you will see that they were for the most part of the nature of relaxations of rules, or of concessions to demands for the introduction of this, that, or the other subject into the school with a payment attached to each. Almost all these changes have been improvements, and the education of the country unquestionably owes much to them. Take for example the introduction of domestic economy for girls, of singing for all, and of composition for the highest class. And yet, notwithstanding all this, the Code was merely patchwork at best, as appeared when England had to be dealt with afresh in 1871, and Scotland in 1873. The Department seemed suddenly to have resolved to satisfy clamorous crotchet-mongers all round by recognizing with one bold stroke everything teachable, under the designation of "specific subjects," or, as teachers now call them, "specifics." It gathered under its gracious patronage all the arts and all the sciences, and—not it may be without a touch of grim humour—it challenged the whole army of school-masters to teach these, if they could, at 4*s.* per head

per annum ! And now I may presume that the Inspectors travel with a copy of "Chambers' Encyclopædia" in their dog-carts, half a dozen grammars, and a tuning-fork. For they are not only exposed to be called on to examine in the ordinary subjects of school instruction, including Music and Drawing, and Sewing and Cutting-out, but they must be ready to test the little boys and girls in Geometry, Algebra, English Literature, Latin, Greek, French, German, Mechanics, Chemistry, Animal Physiology, Light and Heat, Magnetism and Electricity, Physical Geography, Botany, and Domestic Economy ! But this was not all, for Scotland gloried in being an intellectual country, and was the State-pocket to be buttoned up, when Intellect cried aloud for what is called "pecuniary encouragement ?" Not so : the Department was equal to the occasion, and gracefully yielded to Scotland Art. 19, c. 1, whereby "Intelligence" is rewarded at the rate of 2*s.* per head : The sum is small perhaps, but it is probable that the authorities were of opinion that Scottish intelligence did not, after all, need much stimulus, and that it could take care of itself pretty well. We must then regard the smallness of the reward as a compliment to our mental superiority. I sometimes wonder if there is, or ever has been, any people on the face of the earth, except the British, who would gauge their educational work after this patchwork fashion ; and whether, if they did so, they would stop where the Code stops. If intelligence is worth 2*s.* a head, what price are we to

pay for morality? A morality-schedule, filled up after due inquiry and attestation, is not an administrative impossibility. With columns of the virtues opposite the name of each boy and girl, we might have in such a schedule a great engine for estimating the moral condition of the country. What a valuable record for the future historian, throwing all *Mémoires pour servir* into the shade! Animal physiology at 4*s.*, per head, intelligence at 2*s.*, integrity at 2*s. 6d.*, truth-speaking at 3*s.*, and a sensitive conscience generally at 4*s.*, would go quite well into a statistical table, and admit of summation, and of a numerical statement, including even decimals!

But to return to the more serious consideration of the Code, I repeat that it has done much for Scottish education: it was needed. But, having once settled the standards and the school classification, and compelled attention to the mechanical arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic, it should then, I hold, try, through its officials, to go right to the mind and heart of a school. It can do this only by taking a class, not an individual, as the school unit; and if the mind of that class satisfies the Inspector it should be passed as a whole.* In this way the school organization would become more elastic all through, and boys would not be forcibly kept in the same standard in arithmetic as in reading. Let us not forget to congratulate the country on the fact that the Code is now moving in

* This does not, of course, mean that every boy is not to be examined.

this direction. It is every year getting rid of some of its youthful crudeness. It is ripening and mellowing with time. A most significant step forward, for example, was taken in that very recognition of "intelligence" to which we have above referred ; and a still more significant one by the insertion of those little words in Art. 19, c. 1,—the words "in the classes,"—which words require the Inspectors to test "intelligence" in the classes as wholes. But, unfortunately, no article has yet attacked the root of the evil ; and the consequence is that the teacher has no time nor heart for the development of the intellectual and moral character of his school. He is repressed on every side by the laggards, and the school is repressed with him. The dullest pupils have to be brought up to a minimum standard, and energies have to be wasted on them which would be much more profitably employed in the quiet but steady cultivation of the *mind* of the school. Time thus profitably employed would have an effect which, by the nature of things, would be permanent. Labour so directed would give an impulse to the intellectual powers, and a training in moral perceptions and moral habits, which the children would never lose. The mental activity thereby engendered would not cease with the school, but be a self-producing energy of a kind that does not expend itself in one effort, but gains fresh force by making effort. It is only, in point of fact, the skeleton of a school that is at present estimated : to use biological language, the morphology is reported on, the physiology is left out of sight—not

in name, but in truth. One is reminded of the words of Quintilian (substituting the word *educatione* for *oratione*), Proœm. 24: "Plerumque nudæ illæ artes frangunt atque concidunt quidquid est in educatione generosius, et omnem sucum ingenii bibunt et ossa detegunt, quæ ut esse et astringi nervis suis debent sic corpore operienda sunt." The Duke of Newcastle's Commission, which led to the Revised Code, ascertained that children did not read after they left school *because they couldn't do it*—a sufficient reason, certainly; but another commission will find out, some day, that children *can* read, but *don't* do it, simply because they have not the desire to do it. Their intellectual interests are nothing, and their intelligence is a machine which has never really worked and has consequently become rusted and clogged. If called upon to work it will not move at all, or move with such pain and discordant creaking that the process is not likely to be repeated. Some people would seem to think that the intelligence and morality of a people depend on their being able to read with a certain fluency ; but this is a mistake. It depends much more on their right interpretation of daily experience—it depends on their power of observation and of thinking. The Government should aim, in so far as its influence extends, at producing an observing, thinking, and moral population, and the reading will take care of itself as one of the instruments whereby the intelligence seeks to extend its knowledge and practise its powers.

But how is the Government to measure the moral

and æsthetic elements in the school? These things, as they are above price, so are they above measurement by means of any article in a Code. I think we must simply trust the Inspectors. Let them be empowered to examine a class mainly with a view to its intelligent mastery of the work of its standard and pass it as a whole for grants, if it *as a whole* satisfies them; provided always that, in the mere mechanical power of reading, 85 per cent. of the class can pass. This is the only cure for the evil. What, it will be said, is to be done with the remaining 15 per cent.? The answer is easy. To use the words of Professor Black, of Aberdeen, in an excellent address published by him last April, the dunces are to be driven as far as they "*can go without hindering their neighbours.*" If they cannot go on with their fellows, they must be left behind to repeat their work. Even if at the end of their school-life they cannot do mechanical reading and writing so well as they might have done under the present system (which, however, I do not believe), they will have received a far more valuable possession—the habit of exercising, or trying to exercise, such intelligence as they possess. Meanwhile, the boys of promise will not be unjustly retarded. I say *unjustly*, for it is simply not fair that promising boys should have their progress checked and their mental activity restricted in order that the dunces may be taught to spell. This is the worst kind of communistic socialism, for it is the communistic socialism of the soul. Any incidental evils arising from placing implicit trust

in the Inspectors might be checked by organizing the Inspectorate and giving a certain supervision and control to Chief or Diocesan Inspectors, whose duty it would be to harmonize the inspection of large districts of country. The Inspectors would report to their immediate chiefs, and these again to the Department. And, I may remark, in passing, that annual reports on large sections of country in which the Inspectors-in-chief made use of the materials furnished to them by the sub-inspectors of their dioceses would be of great public interest and value.

While speaking of the vexed question of the Code, I wish to separate two of the objections taken to it, which are commonly mixed together in the minds of hostile critics. The one is its discouragement of the higher subjects, in respect of which I hold that the Department has simply not carried out the law, and the character of the Code itself as it touches the whole school and affects the masses of the people. I have no sympathy with those who would sacrifice the mass of a school to the few boys who desire preparation for the professions; and I agree with a schoolmaster who wrote a few months ago in the *Scotsman*, in a very healthy, manly way on this subject. There is time for the Code within the five hours of religious and secular instruction, and time before and after these hours for the teaching of the higher subjects, while the pupil teachers are being instructed. If more time is wanted, and that *during the ordinary school hours*, the School Boards must set free the master for this by the simple

and cheap expedient of giving him an additional pupil teacher. In many cases, indeed, the master could get the additional monitorial assistance he needs in return for the higher instruction. This question of the higher subjects in schools is a totally distinct question from the educational character of the Code in its main features and primary objects. It is vain for school-masters to ask to be relieved of English, geography, arithmetic, dictation, etc., in order that they may teach Latin and mathematics, and Greek, to five or six boys and girls: nor do the best of them desire this. The practical exclusion of all but the merest elements of these last-named subjects from the ordinary work of the school-day, if the length of that day does not exceed five hours, cannot be reasonably objected to. The true objection to the Code is that its money payments are so awarded as to demand that the teacher—if he would please his Board and maintain his reputation in the eyes of the undiscerning multitude—shall spend his energies on the dunces and laggards of the school in the teeth of Nature and Providence. In consequence of this, the masses are not attended to. The teacher cannot devote himself sufficiently to the slow and careful development of the intellectual and moral power of his pupils—a matter, surely, of profound importance to the country. I venture to say, that any teacher who spends ten minutes in an intellectual conversation with a class (after the Socratic fashion) on the subject of the day's lesson, is continually haunted by the fear that he is losing three

per cent. on account of some dull boy. Not that the three per cent. matters; but this dull boy, if not attended to, lowers the per centage of Government "passes" and affects the reputation of the teacher with the people and with his Board. Is the attainment of such a result as this promoting the education of the *mass* of the people? Is the country so profoundly concerned about its dunces? Is the bargain, which the State effects in such a case with the schoolmaster, a good bargain? I think it is not. I think the State is, in this case, after all, a very dull and incompetent trader.

As regards, now, the "higher" subjects—that is to say, those subjects which prepare boys for the Universities and girls for Training Colleges—this, I would reiterate, is a totally distinct question, and lies outside the main body of the Code. The master has no time, with an ordinary staff, to teach more than the elements of these during the five hours of religious and secular instruction, if he is to do the work which we expect the Public School to do for the public. But by teaching the higher subjects above the elements, in the pupil teachers' classes, before and after the ordinary day's work, he can do much without over-straining his powers. If, however, the local Board will allow him a little additional assistance, and if Government will consent to measure his day's work by an intellectual and moral standard, he will have time within the ordinary school-hours to make some substantial progress with advanced English, advanced arithmetic,

and the elements of geometry and Latin ; and this not by giving the classes, as a whole, less of his attention, but by giving them his very best. The pupils will thus be prepared, intellectually, for the higher work, and pre-disposed to seek it ; while the master's spirit will respond more readily to the demands made on him for advanced instruction, when he is treated by the State no longer as a mere machine, but as an intellectual and moral force.

All instruction in the higher subjects, *beyond the first year of such instruction*, would have generally to be given before or after the ordinary school-day. For all such instruction it is essential that the master be paid not *per capita*, but simply for success as a teacher. It is a more exhausting process to teach two boys Latin than to teach ten, and if a master has, owing to local circumstances, only two pupils, it is not unreasonable to ask that he should be rewarded just as if he had ten, by a fixed Parliamentary Grant. This might be paid on condition that the local Board contribute an equal sum, either in the form of additional school assistance or of a direct increase of salary. Already, in the School Board of Canonbie, we have an instance of a Board which, seeing the rapid declension of the higher subjects in a school formerly distinguished for the good teaching of them, offers a grant from the rates *in addition* to the Government Grant. And, let it be observed, that Boards in acting thus do not pay for the instruction of a few boys and girls only, but for the maintenance of a high standard in

the school, which tells powerfully on every child in it. The mental and moral stature of each individual pupil grows with the mental and moral stature of the school.

I had hoped to be able to touch on some other points, but time fails me. I should have liked to speak of the desirableness of giving higher grants on account of the fifth and sixth standards than for the third and fourth ; but especially I should have desired to speak of the rural-parish endowments of Scotland, amounting to about £24,000 a-year, as a fund by means of which the higher instruction might be encouraged in the country districts, in conformity with the 46th section of the Scottish Education Act. This would not be a diversion of the money, but a strictly equitable application of it in our altered circumstances ; and I have yet to learn that it would be illegal.

I omit these things for the present, and some others ; but I would, with a persistency which I trust you will pardon, revert for a single moment to the subject with which I began, and which beyond all doubt is the educational question of the day in Scotland, viz. the training of teachers. Offer grants even of £10 for every pupil who is being instructed in the higher branches, and you will utterly fail to get what you want *unless the teachers have the ability to give it.* Let us have the right men ; provide a little additional assistance in the school, and you will get all you want easily. We have the needed money in the counties aided by the Dick Bequest ; but the Bequest

would be powerless were it not for the co-operation of the University of Aberdeen, which provides the right men—men of good University attainments, and possessed consequently of the highest scholastic ambition. How shall we continue to secure such public servants if University diplomas are not recognized by the State just as medical and other diplomas are recognized?

To conclude: there is every reason to be hopeful of the future of Scottish education, and of the restoration of the higher instruction to our public or parochial schools. The Code, taken as a whole, has laid a good foundation, and on this we can build. We do not ask much from the Government, and we expect much from the country itself. It is true that the changes we desire are of a vital character; but they are easily made, and—an important matter—they are in the direction in which the Department has already begun to move. A few minor defects would still remain: I refer especially to the treating geography and history as special subjects, and to the omission to allow a double grant for boys who pass two standards in one year. These subordinate defects time would clear away. A few strokes of the Lord President's pen will do all we who live north of the Tweed can reasonably desire, and do it, I am certain, with the unanimous concurrence, nay, the applause, of all who are interested in the education of Scotland, and are capable of patriotic sentiment.

PRIMARY INSTRUCTION.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND POPULAR EDUCATION.*

THE FUNCTION OF THE PRIMARY SCHOOL.

THE debate in the House of Lords† on the Education Code which ended in a majority of forty-eight, virtually condemning the action of the Education Department since 1870 in so far as it had encouraged anything beyond the most elementary instruction, was an event interesting in itself, and significant in the history of education in England. Had the promoters of what was virtually a vote of censure belonged to the Tory party only, the result might have been accepted as little more than a survival of a spirit supposed to have been extinct. It was not so, however. The Bishop of Exeter and Lord Sherbrooke ably represented the other side, and were in themselves

* Fraser's Magazine.

† Debate of the 18th of June in which the following motion by Lord Norton was carried : "That a humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct that the Fourth Schedule be omitted from the New Code of Regulations issued by the Committee of Privy Council on Education."

evidence that there is a considerable feeling of discontent with the action of the Department, and a still wider suspicion of its tendencies, if not of its aims. It is worth while to inquire whether there are any grounds for this dissatisfaction.

It would be (absurd unhappily) in our country to suppose that any abstract educational theories have had anything to do, in the first instance at least, with the wide-spread doubts and dissatisfaction that ultimately found confused expression in the House of Lords. The money question is the real starting point of the malcontents. It is the large vote that stirs into activity the educational intelligence of the English people, and leads them to ask the question, What are we paying for, and whither are we tending? Three millions per annum is a large sum, and might build more than one ironclad. The uneasiness with which many see this expenditure, which, after all, is only a portion of the total which the country pays for educating its poorer citizens, leads them to fasten blindly on a certain class of payments that seem to be superfluous. In addition to money grants calculated on the average attendance at a school, and the grants for passes in the "three R's," the Department pays for a class of subjects denominated "specific," which in the opinion of the House of Lords are not necessary to the child of the working man—nay, more, in their general effect and social tendency, are positively hurtful. These subjects certainly strike one, at the first blush, as out of place in a primary school: they are

to be found in the Fourth Schedule attached to the main body of the Code, and include mathematics, English literature, Latin (in Scotland, Greek and Physics), French, German, mechanics, physiology, physical geography, botany, and domestic economy. It may be possible to urge a good educational argument against giving instruction in such subjects in a primary school, but it must be conceded that the purely financial objection breaks down ; for the total sum spent on such subjects (excluding domestic economy for girls, to which we presume no objection will be taken), is comparatively a mere trifle.

As part of an argument, however, against the alleged tendencies of the Department gradually and insensibly to draw into itself the whole work of secondary education, the financial objection may have weight. Is there any such tendency? Is it credible that in men depressed by routine the love of power should still survive? Is it conceivable that fervour in a "cause" should stir the official mind? It is only on the assumption that such things are possible that we can imagine any ground for imputing to the Department a disposition to transgress its limits ; for whatever may be said of other departments of the State, it is in the minds of the permanent officials that we must seek for the motives and aims that determine successive Education Codes, and this, because the subject is one of such infinite detail that the master of the details must, as pilot, control the vessel, whoever may be nominally its captain. For our own part, we

do not for a moment think the Department open to any such imputation. That the love of power can exist in the official mind, and in certain cases can even flourish under folds of red tape, we might be induced to believe ; but we do not think that any case has been made out of a deliberate disposition on the part of the Education Office to exceed its powers. And, indeed, why should they ? They have enough to do. A large and intricate machine is worked with surprising efficiency, and we are satisfied that to work it demands all the energy and ability in the service of the Minister of Education. Since the days of Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth the Department has been gradually absorbing the whole primary education of the country, and it is scarcely any exaggeration to say that it is now (alas !) cognizant of what is going on in every primary school in the country at every successive minute of the school day. By some this may be regarded as a proud position. To have conquered so great an intellectual empire by means of money, aided by the jealousies and mutual distrusts of churches, is no small triumph. But it is only in a limited and conventional sense, a success ; for, with the advantages, come all the evils of over-centralization, and these are more to be deprecated in the educational than in other spheres of State administration. The life of education is the freedom of the teacher and the school, within certain general restrictions ; and where this does not exist, the intellectual and moral evils of centralization far more than

counterbalance the gain. Every teacher in the country takes his orders from the Code, studies the Code, and devotes his energies to satisfy or to circumvent it. The power that resides in the Permanent Secretary's pen is probably greater than that wielded by any other official in the empire. Still this centralization has been an unpurposed, though an inevitable, growth ; and there seems no way out of it except by delegating some of the powers to the county governing bodies which we are now promised. County autonomy, controlled by a central official Council consisting partly of experts, is not inconsistent with the State's obtaining all the best ends of a national system—nay, it is probably the only way of best attaining those ends.

We say that the power already exercised by the Department, and the many burdens that it has even now to bear, must subject it to a great strain ; and this, among other things, forbids our suspecting it of designs on the secondary education of the country. Were there any indications of such a design, the proposed inroad into this new domain would certainly have to be resisted. For, while admitting that secondary instruction is a subject clamantly calling for State organization, the work would have to be set about under very different auspices from that of the present Department, and would have to be controlled by a larger and more liberal spirit. We believe the fact simply to be, that impatient professors of all the "ologies" have been struck with admiration of the mighty instrument which the Queen in Council

had put into their hands, and have pressed their various pet educational crotchets on the patient and perplexed permanent secretary. The result has been, that round the dry and meagre Code introduced by Mr. Lowe in 1861, there has grown, by inevitable accretion, the list of "specific subjects" which now call forth so much adverse comment. We cannot believe the Department to be insensible to the humour of the situation, and we half suspect that they have with a certain wilful glee given the "modern spirit" full rein just to see what the issue would be.

We not only acquit the Department of any such ambition as that attributed to them, but we believe that they are only acting on the line of the true Liberal tradition in education, viz. that it is the duty of the State in its own interest to see that all its citizens have at least an opportunity afforded them of being educated, not only up to the level of their existing position in the social scale, but up to the level of their possible position. Nor are we inconsistent in supporting, at the same time, both the House of Lords and "the Department": the apparent inconsistency is reconciled by a proper understanding of the aims and the social restrictions of popular education. We believe that the more education a man has, if the substance and method of that education be first wisely settled, the better citizen he will be—nay, the better will he do even the humblest work assigned to him. If any discontent arises, it will be due not to the fact of the man's education, but to the

fact that he is educated beyond the level of his neighbours, and that, while raised by his ability and acquirements out of sympathy with the life of his fellow-labourers, he is nevertheless debarred from finding occupation more suited to his intellectual life, which he yet sees to be easily within the reach of men socially more fortunate than himself while in respect of education they are his inferiors.

The question put before the country by the House of Lords is not at all whether the Department is trenching on the sphere of secondary education and spending money illegitimately. The Lords do not understand their own difficulty. The term "secondary" education is loosely and inaccurately used. The real point is—and some of the speakers seemed to be vaguely conscious of it—Up to what age is imperial revenue to be burdened with the cost of education for the poor; and having determined this, how shall the time at the disposal of the child be used? Are we at present using the time profitably and getting our money's worth? As a matter of fact, the school education of the masses of the population ends in the twelfth year; nor is it likely, while poverty continues, that it will ever be otherwise. But surely it is the function of the State, always presuming that it has any educational function at all, to encourage the continuance of school life as long as the pressing physical necessities of the poorer classes permit. The House of Lords (we refer to the reactionary members) may rest assured that in the present, or indeed any, con-

stitution of society, the prolongation beyond the twelfth year will not be great. The age of fifteen is not likely in any one case to be exceeded. The longer the period of school life is, the more fruitful is the result of the earlier years of training, and the more certainly will the level of intelligence of the humbler classes be raised—not only of those individuals who benefit by the prolonged instruction, but (and this is the important point) of the whole social class to which they belong. Is it necessary at this time of day to argue that this is a matter of State concern? Nations are now industrial communities competing with each other, and the weapon with which they now compete, and must for the future compete, is intelligence. It is no longer an open question whether we are to rely on the intelligence, as well as on the moral and religious upbringings, of the operative classes: we *must* do so. Technical training in the various manufacturing industries can reach only the few, and we believe that infinitely more important than any amount of technical training is the general intelligence of the workman as that has been developed in the public school. Given a well-exercised, open mind, and the requisite technical knowledge and aptitude will be very easily acquired.

A leading aim of the primary school, then, is the cultivation of the human intelligence, and we sincerely believe that this is not attainable under the restrictions which Mr. Lowe devised in the Revised Code of 1861, or those which Lord Sherbrooke would now reimpose.

The meagre requirements of Mr. Lowe would probably cost as much to the State as a more liberal demand, and would bring back to society little or no return. It might with truth be maintained that the bare technical arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic are of less moment to the individual and the community than the assiduous cultivation of the intelligence, even to the comparative neglect of these arts. It is fortunately true that a certain amount of discipline is indirectly given in the course of learning to read and write, especially if good methods are employed ; but would not more of these accomplishments themselves be acquired were the daily instruction made subordinate to the training of the spiritual instrument by which they are acquired ? Lord Sherbrooke attempts to strengthen his position by giving us his experience of boys who had passed the sixth standard, and who could not act as his private readers in such a way as to make listening on his part an occupation either pleasing or profitable. So then we are to understand, by Lord Sherbrooke's own confession, that his policy has been a failure. We should have expected nothing else. Mr. Lowe instructs boys in the deciphering of printed characters, and then complains that when all is over they cannot read to him satisfactorily blue-books or the "Fortnightly." Why should they ? Reading aloud in any sense other than the mere naming of vocables is an act of intelligence, and an act requiring an ever higher intelligence as the subject-matter of what is read

grows in subtlety and complexity. Even with the help of more disciplined and better-informed minds, very few of the middle and upper classes can read in a style that satisfies at once the understanding and the ear of a cultivated listener. Probably, no accomplishment is more conclusive evidence that a boy has been educated than the power of reading well. We are quite ready to agree with Lord Sherbrooke : good reading is more important than a knowledge of the elements of Latin or of electricity and magnetism ; and until the former is done, the latter may be left out of the curriculum of the people's schools. But how is reading, such as Lord Sherbrooke desiderates to be obtained ? Only by familiarizing the mind with the subject-matter of books, and giving it command over the words of literature, and the ideas which those words denote. The House of Lords would not, we believe, object to this being done, but they are probably not aware that in accepting this as the standard of education, they aim very much higher than the promoters of a smattering of the specific or so-called "secondary" subjects do. Such a result is not to be attained except by a curriculum of instruction, carefully adapted to the age of the pupils, *in the realities of sense and of thought*. The Education Code should aim at this, and not at the beggarly knowledge of the vocables of a reading-book which has been carefully restricted in its scope to secure for the pupil a Government "pass."

If we ask next on what materials the intelligence

of the young is to be led to exercise itself, we answer again, on the realities of sense and of thought. By the former we mean nature and man's relation to it, without any pretence to science and its (to children) barren terms and empty formulated expressions ; by the latter we mean the ideas and language of moral and religious truth, and of imaginative literature. It is only in this way that we bring the young mind in direct contact with the substance of the mental life of all who have emerged above barbarism, and thereby prepare them for the future teachings of the lecture-room, the village library, and the church. By such instruction alone we awaken the intelligence and engage the moral affections of the young, and so best fit them for their future lives. Reading must accompany, or, at least, closely follow, the movements of the active opening mind ; and then, at whatever stage we have to part with the child, society will be the better for what we have done, and the child himself will have received a start in a truly rational life, and have such consolations in the toils and vicissitudes of his humble career as an awakened spirit can give. To imagine that a boy so educated will be a worse ploughman or a worse man than if he had been left in the condition of dumb driven cattle, is to suppose a contradiction in thought and to despair of the future of humanity. To imagine, on the other hand, that we attain the human and humane ends of popular education by sprinkling the misunderstood terms of all the sciences through our schoolrooms is the very

folly and perversity of educational fanaticism. All that such misapprehension of the relations of science to the work of the people's school can effect is the pretence of knowledge—a pretence as hurtful to the teacher as to the pupil, and certain to bring discredit on the very name of education.

The training of the intelligence by presenting it with the food suited to its period of growth and which it can readily assimilate, is, however, after all, only a means to a higher end—the moral and religious education of the pupil. This, surely, is the supreme consideration in the case of each individual, and therefore also in the people's school. We say moral *and* religious, for though we are far from denying that a certain moral education can be given without religion, we are satisfied that, deprived of the inspiration of religion and of the motives and aspirations of the spiritual life, the morality will be meagre, attenuated, and lifeless. The result, apart from all theological and ecclesiastical considerations, will not be satisfactory so far as the mere humanity of the child is concerned. It is melancholy to think that our religious strifes are to shut out the child of the poor man (who is profoundly indifferent to them) from all that most deeply touches the heart and awakens the sentiment of mankind. Is it reasonable that the children of the poor should be debarred from all that most surely furnishes consolation and hope in the chances and changes of this mortal life, because a few of the dogmas that have been erected on the broad human basis of our

common Christianity are distasteful to the illuminated and fanatical few? The poor man and the struggling woman among the poor cannot be expected to find a substitute for religion in that self-complacent sense of superiority which suffices to sustain the heart of the intellectual Agnostic. The moral and religious influence which should pervade the life of the school, and which is quite compatible with the relegation of dogmatic teaching to a fixed hour, is, we regretfully admit, beyond the power of the State to produce at command. Moral teaching it can, however, in any case require; and for the rest it must rely on the general purport of its instructions to teachers and inspectors, but above all on the *training which it gives to the teachers whom it rears for the public service*, and to the inspectors whom it appoints to supervise them. It may be possible to inspire both these agents.

We have indicated the true work of the people's school. It does not change its character at any stage of the school curriculum. Whether the child leaves at the age of ten, twelve, or fourteen, the instruction he receives is still substantially the same as at the age of six. We believe that, so far, we carry with us Lord Norton, the Bishop of Exeter, and the majority of those who voted with them; and we are quite certain that we have the assent of the few who have given time and study to the science and art of education. "Educational enthusiasts," where they have any knowledge of the repressive conditions under which the common school is worked, desire no

more than has been here sketched, and they will be content with no less. For *such* results our millions would indeed be well expended.

But it is evident that to attain such results the Code of the Department must begin and end differently. It ought to lay down the material of instruction, and the course of intellectual discipline, through which the child is to be carried from year to year. Infants—that is to say, all under seven years of age—have to be trained to the use of their observing powers, in ways which we need not here specify in detail, but which are quite well understood. In the course of this training their minds would be brought into healthful contact with sensible objects, and a broad foundation laid for subsequent *real* studies. Satisfaction should also be given to the cravings of imagination and sentiment by means of child-literature and with the help of music. The moral and religious impressions made on the heart at this early stage would never in future years be obliterated—would never, because they *could* never. The rudiments of reading, writing, and ciphering would not, of course, be omitted, but they would, we maintain, be more successfully taught by being held in subordination to the higher ends of intellectual discipline and moral training. The successive years of school life simply repeat and expand and confirm the teachings of the infant school in ascending forms. The gradual additions to real knowledge made from year to year would, by the time the child had reached the sixth standard and the

age of thirteen, have brought him into intelligent relations with nature. Science in any form would be eschewed, but the more practical results of science would be intelligently apprehended. The Nature-knowledge to which we point would find its final expression in the primary school in such admirable statements of what is now covered by the term "physical geography," as that of Professor Geikie, in his little shilling book on the subject; while the laws of healthy living and the rudiments of an understanding of social and economic conditions would also find their place. Moral training, conducted in a religious spirit and with a religious aim more or less explicit, arises daily, nay hourly, in connection with such teaching: it finds its opportunity in every act of school-life, when the master is competent for his important and delicate task. All this is quite practicable. Were it not practicable, popular education would be doomed to failure. With such a curriculum specific subjects which bear the illusory appearance of being "secondary" subjects would disappear, and the minds of the Lords would be tranquillized. There are indeed no *specific* subjects in education. Whatever it is impossible to work into the ordinary life of a primary or secondary school belongs to some other kind of institution. Specific subjects are for specific schools. Can any one doubt that a scheme of education such as that sketched above would result in a far more widespread intelligence, a far deeper interest in scientific truth and literary expression, and a far finer moral

spirit, than labouring against the grain in the dry teaching of words and technical details based on textbooks constructed so as to teach the minimum which will earn a Government grant? And how much more acceptable to the true teacher would a code conceived in so liberal a spirit be!

If it be said that there is not time for all this, the answer is that it can all be accomplished simply by using properly selected reading books, and by the oral teaching of the master in extension of the suggestions of these books, if he is supplied with proper apparatus, and, above all, properly trained.*

Consider for a moment how the time is now spent that is not devoted to such studies and training. In "getting up" history so called, and grammar and geography, in the teaching of which every demand made by the Department is right in the teeth of all sound educational principle. Go into a school where the children are learning history, and you will find a huge black-board covered with the names of kings and battle-fields, and an accumulation of dates that would provoke the laughter of every cultivated mind not depraved by working the system. As to grammar, we have more than once met little ragged boys on the road not more than ten years of age with Morell's "Analysis" in their hands, and little girls of seven with their slates covered with lists of nouns! As well

* It may be difficult and dangerous for the State to prescribe reading books, but it can name books from which the teacher's oral teaching is to be given.

might we ask them for lists of the fixed stars. This cannot be in accordance with sound educational principles and method, for it shocks our common sense. It was not by "educational theorists" that Government got such ideas of school work, but from "practical" men. Even where the Department does open a passage for the entrance of an educational principle, it converts it into an absurdity the moment it tries to manipulate it. For example, it is a recognized part of educational method that the learning of geography should start with a child's immediate parochial and county surroundings. This the Department seizes on, and immediately perverts it by requiring the children to waste their valuable time in getting up the names of every insignificant locality in the county,—localities which were unknown to the inspectors themselves, although they had traversed the county again and again in the discharge of their duties, until they specially got them up for the sole purpose of torturing children and turning the study of geography into ridicule. We speak what we do know.

This is the way the precious hours of childhood are passed, and this is what we are paying for. And all to please whom? We should like to know. Not certainly the school boards, who care only for the Government gold, and watch, lynx-eyed, the teacher lest he should cheat them out of a three-shilling pass. Not the schoolmaster, who, if he be an under-educated drudge, may be content, for he can conceive nothing higher than the mechanical ideal of the Department,

but who, if he be a true teacher, with a living soul in him, is crushed with the dead weight of official demands ; or, if he smiles at all, smiles the smile of educational despair as he sees the inspector take up his pack and go. Not the children, who not many years ago were beginning to love school, but who now regard it as a task-shop and a thing to be avoided—one of the pains instead of one of the pleasures of their little lives—with what effect on their disposition to learn and obey may be conceived. Not the inspector : he cannot love his life of itinerating schedule-mongering, for he is an educated man. Not the Department : it only wants to get its honest pennyworth, and does not see how else to do it.

We are very far from being blind to the fact that, spite of all this wasted energy, the mere collecting of children together and subjecting them to organization, obedience, and discipline, is a distinct gain to the community, and worth a good deal in the shape of taxation ; and we gladly recognize in the Code-improvements which introduce examination by classes and grants for discipline and intelligence, a distinct evidence of right intention. We still more gladly welcome the action of the present Chief-Inspector of Training Colleges in the direction of liberalizing the education of teachers. We are not blind to the groping good intentions of the Department. But the Code is vitiated throughout : it is rotten at the heart. The supposed necessity of maintaining the leading characteristic of the Revised Code of 1862

makes of the Code of 1880 a piece of patchwork. Two shillings a head for intelligence, and 1s. 6d. for organization and discipline! As if any school should be regarded as a school at all where these conditions are not fulfilled!

So much for the school up to thirteen years of age. Children instructed on the lines which have been (necessarily in this place) very generally indicated, would go forth to sow and to reap and to mine and to weave, ignorant of electricity and magnetism, it is true, but with open eyes. They would be ignorant of the precise date of the death of Henry VI.'s grandmother, but they would have in their souls some bright visions of British patriotism and valour, and some inspiring recollections of duty sublimely done. They would be ignorant of botany, but we hope that they would know something of the wayside flowers and trees: they would be ignorant of physiology, but we hope that they would know a good deal about the conditions of physical health: they would be ignorant of mathematics, but we hope that they would know something of weighing and measuring: they would be ignorant of Latin, French, and German, but they would, we hope, be able to read with pleasure, because with intelligence, the simpler prose and poetical literature of their own country, and to sing its songs. Their whole intellectual and spiritual life would have been started into activity, and the State's duty to the "masses" would have been discharged. Note also that if the elementary knowledge

acquired at school have a direct bearing on the ordinary and daily life of the people, we thereby secure a continuity between the education of school and the education of life ; and it is only in so far as this continuity is established that the boy becomes a wiser, a more intelligent, and more virtuous citizen than he would have been without the school. The material of school work must be of the same stuff as human life is made of.

While the "Lords" then were substantially right in their assault on the Code in its present patchwork form, they were wrong in failing to see that it erred by defect much more than by excess, and, above all, that it erred by misreading popular education in respect both of matter and method. Neither Lord Norton nor the Bishop of Exeter, while complaining of the promotion by the Department of what are called "secondary" subjects, indicated why those particular subjects were to be reserved for a higher class of schools than the primary. What is suitable in education for the sons of ploughmen is, speaking generally, equally suitable for the sons of noblemen of the same age. Except in so far as foreign languages and mathematics are studied with a view to a profession, they are, as instruments of education, equally good or bad for all. The question is a social one. If boys can continue their education from thirteen to seventeen or eighteen, the subjects we have named are held, rightly or wrongly, to be the best

discipline for them and an indispensable preparation for the studies of a university. But neither on grounds of discipline nor of utility can the introduction of such subjects be justified, if circumstances prevent their being prosecuted beyond the initial stages ; and as ninety-five per cent. of the pupils of primary schools must cease to attend school at thirteen at latest, it may be fairly argued that their attention should be confined to subjects having a more direct relation to their future lives. But what of the five per cent. of superior organization ? Brains are not confined to a class. It is of far more importance to the well-being of the State and to the position it is to hold relatively to other communities, that the finer spirits should be educated out of the sphere in which they have been born, than it is to the individuals themselves. The country cannot afford to waste brain-power on hedging and ditching. And there is another and a potent consideration. Social equality is a dream, and communism is an injustice, if not a crime ; but it is not only possible for the State, but incumbent on it, to make a passage from one class to another and a higher, at least possible. Scotland is liberal in politics, but we cannot imagine it becoming socialistic, and this simply because the finer and more ambitious spirits have a career opened to them. The path they have to traverse may be rough, and it is right it should be so ; but it is at least practicable. The potential mental energy of the country is not dammed up. Outlets are provided, and no boy can say that

he has been unjustly used. Were the stronger spirits among the poor north of the Tweed repressed—crushed down by an educational organization separating the lower from the upper in perpetuity, the nation would ere long hear of it to its cost. It would have to pay a much higher price than the trifling addition to taxation which education continued in the primary school beyond the age of thirteen demands. On grounds, then, quite apart from that of Christian humanity, provision ought to be made for the construction of the "ladder." In primary schools, whenever the managers are willing, the Department is, we hold, unquestionably right in encouraging more advanced teaching. Whether this encouragement should take the wholesome form of special grants to teachers to meet an equal grant from the local board, or the trading form of capitation payments in accordance with the genius of a nation of shopkeepers, is not wholly a matter of detail. The curriculum of study would be probably best determined by the local authorities, and should in any case be a *curriculum*, and continue till a boy is fifteen. By that time the special line of activity for which he is fitted would have declared itself, and if he still gave high promise, an exhibition should carry him to a real or classical high school. Few might get so far; but none could say that the machinery of society was so contrived as to block the way to the poor and deny them free scope for their powers. What is of much more importance, ten would receive the benefit of the more

advanced instruction for one who went out of his social class : these would carry into their daily work a higher intelligence, and so leaven the lower stratum of society.

The establishment of certain exhibitions at county schools, open to country boys, may be of service to the sons of clergymen and medical practitioners, and the larger farmers ; but it can never solve the question of the secondary instruction of the poor. The son of the poor man would soon find these advantages taken out of his hands by the lower middle-class, whose domestic habits and means enable them to prepare their children for competition while the peasant's son is labouring in the fields. Moreover, it is quite open to question whether such a system of connecting country with county schools would be salutary in its effects. It is certainly desirable to open a path for very promising boys and girls ; but even were this path opened and strictly reserved for the peasant poor, only one boy probably in every three or four years would tread it, and the district from which he came would be only indirectly and slightly benefited. The true course, we repeat, is to provide for the intellectual and moral life of the people's schools up to the age of fifteen, wherever local authorities desire it. By such provision the whole parish will be benefited, and a fair proportion of thoroughly intelligent citizens added to the agricultural and artisan class, not removed out of it. In the course of such advanced primary instruction the boy born for what is conventionally con-

sidered to be a higher line of life (in any case a life where mental power is more needed) would mark himself out from his fellows in ways that would be unmistakable. The main purpose of these advanced classes, however, would not be the discovery of such boys or girls, but the promotion of the intelligence of the parish itself, and the raising of the body of the people out of their cloddish indifference to all save physical requirements, thereby making them fitter occupants of the church pew and the village reading-room.

In small towns and populous places the higher classes of the primary school, to which we have referred, naturally separate themselves from the primary school and specialize themselves into High schools which carry the instruction of boys and girls still further; and this simply because in such localities a larger number of parents can afford to maintain their children after the age of fourteen or fifteen without the aid of their labour. It would be superfluous in these days to argue for the increase and organization of schools of this class. The various occupations of life require the services of men and women who have as boys and girls gone through a much more prolonged education than can be obtained even at the best primary schools; and, apart from this, the tone of provincial, and consequently of national, life must always be low, and its aims narrow and contemptible, where such schools do not exist. Permissive power should be given to England, in terms similar to those

of the Scottish Education Act of 1878, to institute such schools. This for a time might suffice until a Minister of Public Instruction or (better) an Educational Council could take the matter in hand. In all localities so provided, the primary school should not carry its instruction beyond the age of thirteen, and this, if for no other reasons, because it would be a waste of power to do so. It will scarcely be maintained that the encouragement (not the enforcement) of advanced primary instruction in country districts could affect the institution of high schools situated in fit localities. In any case it would scarcely be just to sacrifice the children of the county to those of the county-town. The object is always to get as much educational work done as can be accomplished with the means at our disposal, and without waste of power.

We often hear it said that the middle classes should pay for their own education, and that they are in many cases now taking advantage of board and other primary schools conducted under the Government fee-maximum of ninepence per week. But we are not aware that the middle classes themselves complain of this. On the contrary, they say, Why are we to pay for the education of the poor, and *also* for our own schools? May we not share in the educational machinery which our own self-imposed rates and imperial taxation provide? Is a child to be excluded from a country school because his father farms 100 acres? If not, then 200? Or, at what point are we

to draw the line? Is it not enough to rest satisfied with the operation of social causes, feeling well assured that as soon as a man has money enough he will seek to separate his children from the mass? What is applicable to the country is equally applicable to the town. It is only men who are raised far above the struggle for a livelihood and who have exaggerated notions of the wealth of the middle class, who venture to complain of the small fee paid by those who, they imagine, are quite competent to provide instruction for themselves without the aid of rates. Those families of the middle class who send their children to board schools do so only because they cannot help it; and those who talk of the unfair advantage the middle class seem to be taking are really ignorant of their circumstances, and of the bitter secret struggle of the men and women who bear themselves bravely in the face of the world in the maintenance of what is dear to them (and fortunately so, because important to the State)—their “position.” And who are they that would cast a stone at their poorer neighbours? The charity of the past provides *them* with Eton and Oxford. We may rest assured that if we once have high schools in all our important centres, we may safely leave the relation of the lower middle-class population to State-aided primary schools to settle itself; and if at present, under shelter of the Education Department, a few families seek in such schools advanced instruction which would be otherwise quite inaccessible, we should rather be glad of this, and

accept it as a clear indication that more is wanted than the State has yet provided.

Meanwhile we think it would be well to encourage in every way the disposition of the Department to extend the education of primary schools to the age of fifteen, and at the same time to give them powers to refuse grants beyond the sixth standard to schools situated in localities already provided with high schools accessible to the poorer class of promising pupils. The only exception we should make to this would be in the case of Normal or Model schools, and this for obvious reasons. But in all cases where the Department recognizes instruction to the age of fifteen, they should, we think, simply test the education given, allowing each locality to find out for itself what it most needs or desires.

We are not prepared to assent to the broad general proposition that the State is bound to educate all its citizens in the sense of promoting the culture of each individual as such. On the contrary, it is more strictly correct to say that the State's function to the individual as such is discharged if it leaves him as free as possible, and that, in charging itself with education, it does so for State ends alone—in the interests, that is to say, of the commonwealth as a whole. It is quite entitled, therefore, to specify its demands in return for the expenditure it resolves upon. With a view to this it must ultimately, through some machinery or other, however decentralized, control the schools, control the training of teachers, and con-

trol the inspectors. But it must do this wisely, and on the sure foundation of educational principle. Its Code must not be an aggregate of dislocated suggestions tied together by no unity of purpose, but only by the thread that stitches the leaves together ; nor must it shock the common-sense of the community by a vain show of science falsely so called.

Neither in the course of instruction we have slightly sketched, nor in the continuance of that course beyond the sixth standard, is there anything beyond the reach of the Department even as it stands. The teachers are, as a whole, quite competent for the task if they are encouraged to undertake it, the inspectors are all men of education and ability, and no one questions the efficiency of the Department itself to do what it thinks worth the doing. The weakest link in the chain of agencies is doubtless the teacher, but this instrument also is under the all-powerful hand of the Whitehall officials. For it is the Department that really controls the training colleges while deftly managing to get gratuitous administration and twenty-five per cent. of what is properly State expenditure, out of the pockets of the various denominations in exchange for an illusory right of management. But this is a large question, and we shall not enter on it here. We would only say, that if popular education means what we think it means, the training of teachers is a matter of prime importance. If it means what Lord Sherbrooke thinks it means, then the arguments urged for expending public money on training fall to

the ground, the present remuneration given to teachers is absurdly extravagant, and their claim to social recognition, in consequence of their presumed high social function, disappears. Female ex-pupil teachers can do all the national work that Lord Sherbrooke desires to see done; and if there be difficulty as to their maintaining discipline in boys' schools, this difficulty could be easily overcome by requiring the frequent presence of the local policeman.

We conclude then that while more advanced teaching and the so-called higher subjects have no place in the primary *education* either of poor or rich, they have an easily defined place up to the age of fifteen in the primary *school*, and that, in so far as the Department is feeling its way towards this result, it is in accord with all the best feeling of the country, and promoting the ends which a national educational system is intended to subserve. We are glad to think that there is no fear that the present heads of the Department will fail in carrying out this liberal view of their duties. Both Lord Spencer and Mr. Mundella have at Sheffield strongly expressed their opinion that the spread of elementary education necessarily produces the desire for higher instruction, to which "all the children of the country" have a claim "according to their needs, capacities, and prospects;" and further, that it is the duty of the State to provide such instruction, "not only thoroughly, but generously and with an unstinting hand." The Duke of Argyll has shown, moreover, that in Scottish schools attention

to higher instruction has not resulted in the neglect of the general instruction of the main body of the school. As a mere matter of fact, the blue-books nowhere show so high a percentage in the ordinary subjects of the Code as in those parts of Scotland where instruction is carried furthest. Nay, it is found that the existence of advanced classes in public schools has a stimulating effect on the intelligence of the *whole school*, and thus all are gainers—master and pupils alike. The same system rightly understood and applied would produce similar results elsewhere. A higher and more intelligent spirit would then arise in all our public schools, and Lord Sherbrooke would have no longer any reason to complain that a boy who had passed the sixth standard could not read satisfactorily. If he and his fellow Peers interested in education would direct their attention to the improvement of the Code in respect both of substance and form, they would further the cause which they have no doubt at heart far more than by the mere negative and uninstructed criticism in which they indulged during the recent debate in the House of Lords.

ON HIGHER PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

HIGHER SUBJECTS IN PUBLIC OR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.*

I HAVE been asked by your committee to deliver an address at this conference on the best way of promoting instruction in the Higher Subjects (so-called) in the Primary Schools, with special reference to existing educational endowments. I feel, however, that I cannot deal with this subject under the limitations suggested, and that I must take a larger sweep. I propose, accordingly, to consider generally the best way of promoting instruction in the Higher Subjects in Public Elementary Schools generally.

We have arrived at a critical period of Scottish educational history—the most critical, in my opinion, since the year 1696. The Act of 1872 settled the question of *quantity* in our educational machinery, and gave the country a complete elementary school organization. Again, Lord Advocate Watson, by the 18th clause of the Education Act of 1878, has done

* Delivered before the Conference of the Educational Institute of Scotland.

more for the education of Scotland than perhaps he is aware of. The power of rating for high schools, which he has been the means of conferring on the school boards, completes the work of Lord Advocate Young; and, for the first time, the Reformation ideas of a Scottish educational system are legislatively recognized. The work now before the country is one of administration only, and we have to congratulate ourselves on the vantage-ground which we at last occupy. The Act of 1872 brought schools to the people, and, in so far as it failed to bring the people to the schools, it has been during the past year, in this respect also, amended and completed.

The question of quantity being thus settled, the attention of us all is now naturally directed to that of *quality*. Is the nation getting full value for its money and labour? I think it is not. Why it is not, and how it may do so, are subjects which it peculiarly becomes the educational profession to consider. Their right to a hearing is unquestionable. On the politics of education, it is true, teachers have no right to assume the attitude of specialists; the subject is far too wide and far-reaching in its bearings on the whole history and social organism of a country to be dealt with by any one class. Teachers occupy, in *this* sphere, the position of (presumably) well-informed citizens, and nothing more. But, in all matters that pertain to education itself, they are entitled not only to speak, but to a respectful hearing. It is only when their counsels are guided by those who lose sight of edu-

tion, and, in their desire to acquire personal importance, pander to class-interests, flatter class-weaknesses, and feed class-vanity, that the educational body is to be suspected and distrusted.

My text is the "Higher Subjects in Public or Elementary Schools :" it is a plea consequently for the encouragement of Higher-primary schools. I begin by saying that I dislike—not the term "Higher Subjects," but the exclusive sense in which that expression is employed. I cannot admit that Latin, and mathematics, and Greek are "higher subjects" in any sense in which advanced English, advanced arithmetic, and economics, and the elements of physiology in their practical relations, are not also "higher subjects." A "higher subject" is any subject whatsoever pursued beyond its elements. What is really commonly meant in Scotland by the expression, is "*University*" subjects. If the Faculties of Arts were to throw over Latin and mathematics to-morrow, and to substitute German and chemistry, then the expression "higher subjects" in Public Schools would change its meaning, and signify, henceforth, German and chemistry. Understand, then, that while by "higher subjects" I here mean those subjects that fit a boy to enter a Scottish University, I do not restrict myself to these.

I am the more anxious to be clearly understood on this subject, because I hold that the leading subject of all discipline and of all culture is our own tongue.

This is the centre round which all true education of the intelligence turns. It is only the exceeding difficulty of rightly and effectually teaching English beyond the elementary stages, that drives me, as an educationalist, to stand by Latin, and to advocate it, even for those boys whose school-life ceases at fourteen or fifteen.

We are told that the "higher subjects" of Latin and mathematics are somehow connected, in a special way, with the clerical profession, and it is not the business of the schools to supply the pulpits of the various churches. If the knowledge and discipline acquired by the study of the higher subjects had merely a technical bearing on any one profession, then the objection urged might have some weight; but the facts are notoriously otherwise. Look up our University calendars, and you find set down, as preliminary to a course of study for Master of Arts, Latin and mathematics; as preliminary to study for a Degree in Law, Latin and mathematics; as preliminary to a Degree of Medicine, Latin and mathematics; and again, as preliminary to a Degree in Science, Latin and mathematics. It appears, then, that Latin and mathematics is the double key that opens the doors of every profession. If this be the fact, and it is the fact, the identification of the Church with those higher subjects is henceforth impossible in any honest argument.

Apart, then, altogether from reasons of a purely educational kind, I stand by the (so-called) higher subjects because they are the sole avenues to the

various professions. Let this be distinctly understood ; and let us now expose another fallacy of the enemy. This fallacy may be expressed in brief thus :— “Primary Subjects for Primary Schools ; Higher Subjects for High Schools.” In presence of this plausible formula, I am again forced to ask the question, “What are ‘primary’ subjects, and what are ‘higher’ subjects?” Is English a “primary” subject only ? Ask Professor Masson, and Professor Nichol, and Professor Spencer Baynes, and Professor Bain. Is Arithmetic a “primary” subject? Ask Professor Kelland—in asking whom, you ask perhaps the broadest and most enlightened of all Scottish educationalists, though himself an Englishman. In short, there is no such thing as a “primary” *subject*, and no such thing as a “higher” *subject*. Every subject of instruction has its beginning, its middle, and its end ; and the extent, and time, and mode of teaching it is a question of the pupil’s age and stage of advancement, and that is all. And if this be so, there cannot be, in any country, a consistent and steady line of demarcation between the primary and secondary school and the primary and secondary teacher, without serious disadvantage to that country, except perhaps where both kinds of school exist in the same locality.

But further, if we confine higher subjects in the sense of University subjects to high schools, we thereby confine the Universities and the professions to those boys who have the good fortune to be born within walking distance of town high schools. I ask,

is this desirable in the interests of the community? Can a great empire like ours continue to subsist if we do not lay under contribution all the best brains in this small, but imperial island? Assuredly not; for all the intellectual needs of the State, we require to draw forth the best intellects of the community. Nor is this all; for what shall we say of the inherent rights of the finer brains? Is that clever boy—the son of a poor crofter or of a village smith or carpenter, whose spirit is touched to a finer issue than ploughing or sowing—to be told that the State has so arranged the educational machinery of the country that he is doomed to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water in the teeth of the divine purpose, by virtue of which he is intended for better things? I ask the Politician—Is this safe for the State? I ask the “Liberal” newspaper—Is there any Liberalism in this? I ask the Democracy—Where is true Democracy to be found if not in the recognition of the just claims of each individual son of the soil? I ask those who tremble before the secret and assured advance of communism, by what counter-theory can they hope to meet it and destroy it, save by the theory of individualism, which involves a free and open field for the intellect of those who have been born poor? “Granted,” say the admirers of paper systems, “but we shall meet the difficulty by providing bursaries in connection with secondary schools in towns!” Now, the very smallest sum which will provide clothing, board, and education for a poor country boy, who has

no private resources, is £35 a-year, involving an annual expenditure, if the scheme is to be national, of £70,000 or £80,000 in Scotland alone. We may rest assured that a golden ladder of learning such as this will never be constructed. Besides, even if it were to be constructed, it would have to be under the control of a central administration, and would inevitably become rigid and inelastic in its rules. Then, at what age are boys to be transferred from their parents' roof? If taken too young, you have many difficulties to face which are insuperable. *First*, you have this difficulty: that country parents of the poorer class require the labour of their boys at certain seasons of the year—a labour which is of good educational effect on the intellect and character of the boys themselves. *Secondly*, you have the reluctance of parents to part with boys who are mere children—a reluctance to be honoured and to be encouraged in the interests of the family and of society. *Thirdly*, you have the evil—and a most serious one it is in its moral influence—of separating boys from their own class, and dissociating them from the education of home-influences and worthy poverty. You thereby create a class within a class; you force into existence a number of bursary prigs, and undermine all that goes to make character, without which knowledge is little better than a curse. *Fourthly*, you would have to subject boys to the strain of competition at an age so tender as to be hurtful to the boys, and therefore to the community; for mark that you would injure *six* boys for every *one* that you

would select for special privileges. *Fifthly*, you would weaken the instruction of the school, and, through it, lower the intelligence of the whole parish by removing from it, prematurely, its finest spirits. *Sixthly*, you would injure the *education* of the school by limiting the master's conception of his work, and the ambition of his scholars to a premature bursary limit; the master's duty being everywhere to carry on the education of the children of the parish as long as he can induce them to stay with him. A dozen intelligent and educated boys and girls are of more value to the nation than one over-pushed pre-eminent precocity.

For these reasons, I hold that fourteen is quite the lowest age at which you can safely call for bursary competitors, as it is the lowest age at which the school-master's work in a primary school would naturally cease.

Let us assume this, and ask next what must be the standard of proficiency in a boy of fourteen who looks forward to one of the professions, or to the public service? What, in other words, are to be the subjects of examination for the secondary school bursaries? Latin, and mathematics, and English, in any case, I presume; and such amount of these as will enable the boy to take his proper place in a secondary or high school. If this be so, then it follows that these subjects must enter into the curriculum of the upper classes of the parish school, if we are in earnest about our educational ladder, and are not merely posing before the public as liberal education-

alists, for some personal political object, while all the time we are actuated by social superciliousness, or are the unconscious victims of our own dry inhuman doctrinairism. From all which it appears that the work of the primary school must overlap, and in rural districts ought to overlap, that of the secondary or high school.

I say of the secondary or high school—not of the University. I wish to emphasize this, because I think that the University can never properly discharge its duties to society unless it begin its proper work with students in their eighteenth year, and adequately prepared. There can be no objection to a University establishing or retaining (for a time, at least) certain junior or preparatory classes, as a kind of paedagogium, taught by tutors under the direction of the professors, for lads who are too old or too rustic to be quite comfortable in a city high school, so long as the time spent in the paedagogium does not reckon as an *annus academicus* qualifying for a degree. The present system has only one possible defence, viz., that it secures a large income to those professors who are doing the work—an argument which has not so much weight with me as it perhaps would have were I one of these happy professors. If we are to have a University paedagogium at all, I would have the fees, after deducting tutorial expenses, go into the University chest, and distributed among those professors whose income necessarily, from the nature of their subjects, falls below a certain amount ; provision being,

of course, made for vested rights. It would be necessary, also, to take measures to prevent the University paedagogium underselling high schools. But this by the way.

That University subjects should be taught in the public school, as part of the work of the higher classes of the school, I hold to be not only desirable, but essential to the well-being of the country. The practice is also in the line of the tradition of Scottish education. It has done more directly, and, above all, indirectly, to maintain the tone and thoroughness of the Scottish parochial school than anything else. It has elevated those who have had no direct benefit from it, and has engendered a respect for education which the peasantry of no other country possesses in the same degree. We cannot measure the wide-reaching influences of a system by means of statistical returns of the number of boys who can construe a little bit of Latin. The bonds which sustain the life of a community escape the perspicacity of the clerks in the Registrar-General's office, and decline to figure in the most elaborate of schedules. It is really, after all, a question of little moment whether the percentage of pupils in Latin and mathematics is less now than in the first half of the century. It is better to stand on the general opinion that it ought to be larger than it is. But I am not afraid of statistics, if you will provide an interpreter of them. I have given some attention to the subject, and my conclusion is that six per cent. of the pupils of country

parochial schools used to be taught Latin. We are told that the percentage is steadily increasing ; and the following fallacy is presented to the public by those interested in London centralization, viz., that the records of the Education Department show a steady increase. An increase from what ? From what existed in 1873, when the Code came into operation ? Not at all ; but from the *returns* of that year. The teachers of the country had temporarily given up Latin and mathematics in their struggle to meet the various requirements of the Code. They had to satisfy their new masters. When they had fitted their shoulders into their new harness they took up Latin again, presented pupils, and satisfied statistics. As schools and the organization of schools became settled, the number of Latin pupils increased, and was certain to increase. But all this furnishes a misleading basis for fact. The question is, What has been the percentage of increase as compared, say, with 1870 ? Assume it to have been six per cent then, what is it now ? Trying to strike a mean between the somewhat conflicting opinions of the defunct Board of Education and the Education Department, we may set it down at four per cent. So far satisfactory ; but still misleading. For, first, the six per cent. of old days was calculated on country schools alone, and of the boys in these ; the present four per cent. includes town schools and girls. Secondly, we all know that the first stage of Latin is mere memory work, and can be taught to large numbers within the ordinary school

hours. The testing question we have to ask is—What percentage of pupils is in the third stage—the *Cæsar* stage, let us say? For be it observed, the old parochial schoolmaster never dreamt of putting all his highest class into the Latin grammar in order to earn 4s. a head. His Latin and mathematical pupils were all boys who meant to *go on* with their studies; and, accordingly, you must find the present percentage of those in the third stage, and add a fair proportion of those in the first and second, if you desire to ascertain whether the University subjects are declining or not. Compare the number in the third stage in 1879 with the number in the same schools who were in the first stage in 1877, and you may work out the number of *bond& fide* Latin pupils; and if, when you have got this, it yields six per cent. of the boys in *country* schools, I shall be only too glad to hear it. But, until we hear this grateful news, we must assume that the result and, still more, the tendency of the Code is to crush out the University subjects. If any one doubts it, I ask the explanation of the fact that pupil teachers in public schools, who have had five years' instruction, and are eighteen years of age, don't know elementary Latin when they come up to compete for entrance into training colleges? The test was last year more difficult than in 1877, I admit; but it was more difficult only after due warning given to all concerned. Moreover, it was the Government's own test. The Education Department fixed the standard and examined the papers;

and the standard was certainly not higher than ought to be reached by all students entering the junior classes of our Universities. The *Scotsman* may sophisticise as it may; it cannot wipe out this melancholy fact. Melancholy, for it places beyond question that, of the two hundred students who enter the training colleges next month, not more than thirty will go out to the country two years hence competent to instruct in Latin, and, perhaps, a dozen in all fit to instruct in the rudiments of Greek. This has been going on ever since the training colleges came under a Government Code, during which period three-fourths of the existing masters of country schools have been sent out !

This brings us to the question—How in these circumstances are we to secure that the University subjects shall be taught in our public rural schools to all who desire instruction in them?

I do not complain of the absence of this instruction solely because the State thus filches from the Scottish country school-boy a hereditary right, but also because the masters are less cultivated than they might be ; and, consequently, the intellectual and moral tone of the schools grievously suffer. The quality of education, in the true sense of the word, is lowered for the whole nation. The idea of the Scottish parochial school is departed from.

Do not suppose that I would sacrifice the majority of a school to the few clever boys. Far from it. I sympathize profoundly with the resolve of the Educa-

tion Department, that the unquestionable defect of our old Scottish education shall be removed ; that the flagrant wrong to the many shall be put down ; and, if need be, with a strong hand. All approve of the institution of standards—all approve of very much in the Code. The maligned Code has been in many respects of signal service to us. What we complain of is, that the educational idea has not yet penetrated into the Education Office. The educational idea is an ethical idea. The school aims first of all at the moral and religious life, and all other things are to be subordinated to this. We do not wish to make intelligent monkeys, but living men and women. To do this the ethical substance of education, including the elements of the laws of health and of economics, must enter into the ordinary teaching—not be relegated to the region of specific subjects. These things are in no true educational sense “specific subjects.” To constitute, for example, a department of the Code out of scraps of English verse said by heart, and to call that “literature,” is at once to misconceive the whole significance of the language-training of the school, and to insult the majestic name of English literature. The native literature of a country is the main channel of the educative force of a master. It is the chief weapon in his armoury, whereby he achieves his ethical aim. And what shall we say of Code history? Small-type condensations of facts and dates—a kind of concentrated soup in three-penny packets, and sixpence off if you take a dozen.

And how is it all put into their little heads? It is not taught, it is injected. Helpless, home-neglected children, with their soft brains and unformed wills, are required, like the slave negroes of the old cotton plantations, to toe the line or feel the lash, lest 3s. 4d. be lost. And *this* is education! On what principle of justice is it that the clever pupils are weighted and dragged down by the dull and slow, or the home-neglected? The present practice I have elsewhere called Educational Communism, which is just as much or as little defensible as Political Communism. I ask, will not the dull and slow profit more by the raised intelligence and moral spirit of the school to which they belong, than by a successful struggle to read off correctly a few words and recite a few facts at the expense of the intelligence and progress of the whole?

I find myself plunged into the middle of the Code when I ought to be speaking of the University subjects; but there is a method in the seemingly perverse digression. For the first thing that has to be done to make advanced teaching, and consequently the teaching of the University subjects, possible is, that the school shall become an educational institution, and be no longer a Code-mill, between the upper and nether stone of which the souls of the children and the hearts of teachers are ground to dry dust.

First, then, individual examination must cease, and the Inspector must go right for the intelligence and life of each class. He will keep his eye on the reading

and writing and counting of each pupil, of course ; but, unless he find that more than fifteen per cent. of each class is very backward in technical knowledge, he should pass the class *as a whole* for grants. I would substitute a *class* test for the individual test under certain reasonable safeguards, easy to devise. The teacher would then have time to bring his own mind and heart into personal relation with the mind and heart of his pupils. Education would become possible. And, with an intelligence awakened, and love for learning thus inspired, the teacher would have no difficulty in giving a whole year of Latin and Euclid before his pupils had emerged from the sixth standard. Unless you concede this to me, I have nothing to say on the higher and University subjects, save that they cannot be taught except at extra hours and for extra pay. And the truth is, I care little for them, except in so far as they rest on the sure and happy foundation of the true education of the whole school. Given this, and, I repeat, the master can give a year's Latin and mathematics before the conclusion of the sixth standard. And what after that, you will say ? He will in the following year form a seventh standard, and the year after that an eighth ; and by that time the promising boys will be able, after a year in some high school, to enter the junior classes of a University if they choose to do so. If they do not, the State is notwithstanding so much the wealthier by the accession of a certain number of active, intelligent, and educated brains.

Larger capitation grants for Latin and mathematics than for physiology, etc., would not work miracles. Its chief effect would be a moral effect; it would throw the influence of the State on the side of these subjects instead of on the side opposed to them, as at present. This would, doubtless, be of great importance; but the true way is to recognize advanced standards by allowing higher grants for them as a whole. To continue boys and girls at school beyond the sixth standard for the mere purpose of studying certain specific subjects is, from the true educational point of view, a blunder. Every possible inducement should be offered for their continuing at school, but this for the purpose of continuing their general education, of which Latin and mathematics are only a part. If increased grants are made for those who pass in the sixth, seventh, and eighth standards as classes, without regard to whether Latin is part of the school work or not, the question whether Latin shall be part of that work may be left to the school boards and the teachers. Given the reform here suggested, viz., the examination and passing of the classes, and rising grants with the rising standards, up to the eighth inclusive, the school boards would have it in their power to do the rest. Remember that the Education Department is under legal obligation to do more than it does for the advanced subjects, and especially for those called "University subjects;" for the terms of the Act of 1872 require them to maintain the "standard then

existing ;" and we all know that those words had reference to University subjects, and *University subjects alone*. Had it not been for this understanding the Act of 1872 would not have passed.

But how is the teacher to find time for these seventh and eighth standards, including the University subjects as part of them? This brings me to my second point :—

2. My second suggestion is obvious to you all : it simply is, that the school boards shall provide additional assistance. A school equipped for six standards may, by means of female teachers, be equipped for eight at a cost of from £40 to £60. This expenditure would be largely met by the increased State capitation grants for the sixth, seventh, and eighth standards ; and the boards must do the rest.

3. To attract pupils, those in the seventh and eighth standards should pay no fees, and the needy among them might receive their books from the County Associations of Scotland, which are located in Edinburgh and Glasgow.

4. The masters should receive additional remuneration by the help of local and other endowments ; and it is to this purpose mainly that I would devote local endowments. The trustees of an endowment may say to the school board—"your teachers shall have so much of our money, if you will provide the additional assistance required in the school."

The national aim, it seems to me, should be to have at least one school in every parish of Scotland

where advanced instruction—including, where it was desired and it would almost always be desired, “University” subjects—should be given by a competent master ; and this is quite within our power.

5. Where is the money to be got wherewith to pay the teacher? The large towns have endowments enough to do all, and more than all, the work ; and if Dundee be an exception, it has the rates to fall back on, not to speak of private contributions.* If we imagine an average of £35 a year given to each of one thousand masters of country schools who are doing the more advanced work, we need only £35,000 a year. The country parochial endowments already amount to £25,000 a year, rapidly, alas, being swallowed up to save the ratepayer. There is over and above this, £5000 a year in the Ferguson bequest locker in Glasgow, waiting for the Western counties to claim their rights. There is £2000 a year of Philp money partially going to waste in Fife. There is £2000 a year, at least, asking you to come and spend it in Stirling. The parishes of the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, are already provided for by the Dick and Milne bequests (the latter awaiting reform), the total amount spent there being £6000 annually. The sums I have named amount to £35,000 a year. If you want more, I point you to other sources. For example, I can show the Heriot trustees where £5000 is lying at their feet. They will not stoop

* No longer an exception in consequence of the Harris and Baxter bequests.

to pick it up. All this can be done without injuring a single legal beneficiary, or without abstracting a penny from the funds that are destined for high schools, or delocalizing to any appreciable extent a single trust. All that is wanted is *organization*. I consider that the present government have let slip a great opportunity. Their omission has, however, some apology in the want of union among the Scottish members of parliament, and the philistinism which characterizes so many of them. The suggestion here made is not revolutionary; it is in the line of clause 46 of the Act of 1872, which gives power to school boards to "vary or depart from trusts with a view to increase the efficiency of the parish or burgh schools, by raising the standard of education therein, or otherwise."

6. And now I come to my sixth suggestion. I have pointed out how the master is to be enabled to do the work which Scotland requires of him, by modifying the Code and giving him an adequate staff; how he may be remunerated for doing it; and how pupils may be induced to take advantage of his services. I now come to the most important suggestion of all, which is this, that the Training Colleges and Universities, and you, the Educational Institute, see to it that teachers supplied to the country are competent to do the more advanced kind of work. It may not be necessary that all trained teachers be competent; but it is indispensable that two thirds at least of the 180 sent out annually by the training

colleges should be thoroughly competent. A teacher, who is himself a good Latin and mathematical and science scholar, will not require much inducement to dignify himself and his school by carrying forward his clever boys and girls. He is anxious to do it. I believe that eighty per cent. of them would gladly do it now, without fee or reward, had they sufficient assistance in the lower departments. They recognize the intellectual and moral effect of an advanced class on the intelligence and moral spirit of the whole school, and they feel its elevating influence on the parish. We all know that it was not the money reward that induced the old parochial schoolmaster to teach University subjects. It was his pride in his position, and his sense of the responsibilities of that position. It would be out of place here to enter into details as to the training of teachers. But two things I may say, that, if the end I have in view is to be attained, the pupil teacher's course must be so arranged that candidates shall come up to the training colleges better linguistic and mathematical scholars than they are now; and that, when they are there, they shall be worked into the system of the Scottish Universities as much as possible. To encourage the movement in this direction, I have placed before the Senate of the University of Edinburgh a proposal that a minor degree of Literate or Licentiate in Arts shall be granted to all students who have attended two sessions, and have passed an examination in four subjects—the standard in these

being equal to that required for the degree of M.A. * Those Queen's scholars who take advantage of this will thus go out to the country with a University stamp, as well as a Normal school stamp; and, feeling themselves to be permanent members of the University, will maintain, it is to be presumed, a higher standard of aim and work than they would otherwise do. And, while these students are getting University instruction in Latin, Logic, and Physics, they should also add to the practical methods learnt in the normal school all that the University has to tell them on the philosophy, history, and methodology of their profession, and be sent forth to do the country's work, feeling that they are truly members of a profession, because their work has a root in philosophy and a continuity in history.

With this last object it was that chairs of education were founded, the purpose and utility of which certain authorities, who ought to know better, are slow to recognize. The Education Department discourages them, and the Free Church normal school authorities ignore them.

7. Seventhly, and finally : It is essential to the successful working of a Code, reformed in accordance with the educational idea, that inspectors of schools also shall be trained. If teachers need training, on what principle can Inspectors of teachers be exempted from it? You will perhaps think, that those inspectors who have been teachers should be held to

* This Literateship is now in operation.

have fulfilled this requirement. But I think otherwise: many teachers go on from year to year and never make progress. It is a common fallacy to suppose that, because a man is always doing the same thing, he is acquiring "experience;" and on the strength of this he proceeds to dogmatize. But, if it be true (as it is) that that man alone acquires experience who observes, analyzes, compares, generalizes, and reaches valid inductions from the materials that come before him, of what use is the constant repetition of the same work from day to day to an unthinking man, or a man of even average intelligence? It does him positive hurt. He repeats himself till he begins to identify all that is possible in education with what is possible *for him*. His narrow conceptions become his standard for others as well as for himself. He has not the open, liberal, generous soul of the true educator. He has often hardened down into the "dominie," a danger to which those are specially exposed who are teachers of departments of study only. The large and complex movement of a Public people's school keeps a man broader. For the inspector-designate, then, even if he has been a teacher, and especially if he has been a teacher of a department—say classics or mathematics—training is needed. He ought to spend six months studying methods and organization in at least two normal schools, and should at the end of that period be examined in his knowledge of these things, and of the theory and history of education. The Department and the

country would be great gainers by this, and teachers would begin to look to the inspectors as friendly and sympathizing counsellors, and not merely as perambulating critics and statisticians. In the discharge of their duties they should be instructed, moreover, to promote the highest education possible, and not to look coldly on a teacher's more ambitious efforts, because a few pupils have failed in the lower standards.

This is all I have to say at present. If I have spoken with some emphasis on certain points, it is because I am addressing an audience which has in its hands the solution of many questions that, through the school, affect the welfare of the nation. If you prosecute reforms, especially those that bear on the education of your profession, in the spirit of educationalists inspired with a fervent zeal for the highest interests of the young multitudes who pass through your hands, you will assuredly succeed.

THE HIGHER INSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC RURAL SCHOOLS.

AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DICK BEQUEST
IN ABERDEEN, BANFF, AND MORAY.

IT is specially appropriate to the consideration of the question of higher-primary schools that some account should be given of an educational endowment so important and so beneficial in its effects as the bequest left by James Dick, the Jamaica merchant, in May, 1828. The administration of the Dick bequest contains a practical lesson suited to the present circumstances both of England and Scotland. No question is more urgent than this : " How are we to foster in public rural schools instruction in those branches which prepare for the upper forms of grammar schools and the junior classes in the universities ? " and the question is one which will one day have to be answered in England as well as in Scotland. The Dick bequest has solved this problem in a way of its own in the three counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, by the judicious application of an endowment of little more

than £4000 a year net. You will, of course, understand that I do not claim the whole merit of this work for the Dick bequest trustees alone. They simply made use of customs already recognized, and of forces already in operation. The result of their work was to consolidate these forces, and to direct energies which, under the pressure of local necessities, had already set in a certain direction. Without the University of Aberdeen, its system of bursaries and its cheap education, the bequest could have accomplished comparatively little. There would have been no standard up to which the schools could have worked, and there would have been no teachers capable of doing the work which has been, and still is, required of them. In the county of Aberdeen, too; the Milne bequest has played an important part.

The aim of the Dick bequest trustees is to secure at least one school in each parish in which the higher instruction shall be given, so that a pathway to the University shall be open to the poorest. They have secured this by admitting one teacher in each parish (and where there is a large population, two) to share in the fund on the following conditions:—

1. That the teacher pass a qualifying examination. This examination is held annually, and is attended by recently appointed teachers who aim at holding a high position among the teachers of the three counties. When a school board advertises for a teacher of the public school selected by them as that in which the higher instruction is to be given, they limit the candi-

dature to those who think themselves competent to pass the Dick bequest examination. This virtually means that none but University graduates need apply, for the examination is so pitched as to require a qualification in Latin, Greek, and mathematics higher than that required for a mere pass degree ; and, in addition, it demands a competent acquaintance with the English language and literature, the elements of physics, geography (physical and political), and history. The schoolmaster is the key of the whole position, and by directing their attention to his qualifications in the first instance the trustees anticipated and removed many difficulties.

2. But, it may be asked, how do school boards succeed in attracting graduates as candidates for rural public schools ? The answer is simple. By the substantial inducements which they offer. The trustees at once saw that the endowments and advantages belonging to the position of a country schoolmaster were a matter of vital moment. They accordingly fixed a minimum salary, without which no schoolmaster is eligible to receive the benefit of their fund, and they thereby protect themselves against what without such protection would have been the inevitable result, viz., the application of their grants to the relief of the statutory local burdens. The sum at present fixed is £80 of stipend, a dwelling-house, and all the fees of the school. The poorest master on the roll of the Dick bequest will have at least £110, a house and garden, and his bequest prospects. This sum would

not, however, suffice to attract the best men, were it not that it is only the first step in a career. The highest salaries range from £200 to £300 a year, in addition to the bequest. It is the existence of prize-places which secures for the humblest places the services of a first-class man. As things now stand in Scotland generally, there are too many good places in proportion to the very good. No system can be more wasteful both of money and power.

3. In allocating their free revenue among the teachers the trustees proceed on this plan:—They allow so many marks for the average attendance, so many for the number receiving instruction in the higher subjects, and a few for the scholarship of the teacher, if he be one of those who have distinguished themselves at their examination. Each mark represents a certain proportion of the free fund—generally about 10*d.* A “Visitor” is then sent to the schools to ascertain the condition of the school in every department, but with powers to have a special regard to the way in which the higher subjects are taught, and to the intellectual and moral character of the school generally. On his report, if approved of by the trustees, it depends whether the number of marks already credited to the teacher on the basis of his school statistics shall be paid or not, or how much of it shall be paid or how much shall be added to it. Great power is thus conferred on the Visitor, and on him must always largely depend the successful administration of the trust, and all the more that the

trustees demand the strongest possible grounds for not sustaining his judgment in each case. They have so invariably sustained it that a body less accessible to complaints or private solicitation does not anywhere exist. A great and consistent stringency, and some even think severity, has characterized their administration, the absolute purity of which has never even been questioned.

4. The visitor is not limited as to the amount of marks he may *deduct* from the total credited to a teacher on statistical grounds, but the amount he can *add* is restricted to one-fifth of the total aggregate of marks obtained in any one year by all the teachers collectively. This gives a certain security against the idiosyncrasies of any individual Visitor, and a confidence to the teachers, who feel that they are not wholly at his mercy. It practically comes to this—that of the £4000 available for distribution the Visitor, subject to the confirmation of the trustees, allocates £800 among the 130 teachers. Those who are put on a reduced scale may receive only £5, those who are in the first rank may receive £55. This inequality of distribution is the life of the system.

5. Now, what are the results? These:—That, in the first place, ninety per cent. of the teachers are graduates of a University, and graduates of more than pass-qualifications. Secondly, that the subjects which prepare for a University are taught in all save a few schools that are peculiarly situated. Seven per cent. of the scholars are learning Latin, two per cent. are

learning Greek, and five per cent. are learning mathematics. But the general disposition to teach the higher branches does not stop here, for a large percentage of girls are learning French (many of these also Latin), and a small percentage have begun German. Thirdly, the pupils thus trained go in a large number of cases to the bursary competitions of Aberdeen University, some, however, spending from three months to ten months at a grammar school on their way. The girls compete for admission to training colleges.

6. But a result not less important than this, in my eyes at least, is produced. For the fact that advanced instruction is always available secures a prolonged attendance at school on the part of all whose parents can afford it. A larger proportion of well-instructed boys and girls are thus turned out annually than will be found anywhere else. While in other districts the children of even well-to-do parents leave school at the age of thirteen, you find in the three Dick bequest counties an effort to continue at school to fourteen, fifteen, and even sixteen years of age. And all this because there exists a higher department in the schools which *by its very existence raises the standard of what is held to constitute education in the eyes of the small farmers and tradesmen.* This is by no means the least valuable result of the system.

7. But the question naturally arises, and has been again and again asked—What of the masses of the children in attendance at these schools? Can the primary subjects be efficiently taught when the teacher's

powers are drawn off to subjects which properly belong to the sphere of secondary instruction? I have again and again answered this in the affirmative, but the answer has been received with incredulity. The Government returns, however, now afford independent evidence and establish the fact beyond question. An examination of the Blue-book by the Board of Education for Scotland shows that the Dick bequest schools gain more per head from the Parliamentary grant for the ordinary subjects of the Code than rural schools in the rest of Scotland. The question, then, is now definitively and officially answered as I have always answered it from my own knowledge.

8. Still the incredulous, or rather, let us say, those who are convinced against their will, will continue to say, "How is it possible?" My answer is that the higher class of schoolmaster brings with him a moral and intellectual force to his work which has two results: (1.) It enables him to predispose the minds of his pupils for more advanced instruction: (2.) It enables him to accomplish more within the same time than a less intellectual and educated man can accomplish:

3. When the more elementary stages of Latin and mathematics and French are passed he devotes additional time to the higher subjects. An hour before or after school is set apart for those pupils who are in earnest about the more advanced studies.

9. It has to be admitted, however, that the pressure of the Government Code is such as to tend to discourage the teacher and to deprive him of the time

necessary for the higher instruction if he is to meet the ordinary requirements in the best possible manner. This is unquestionably the tendency; and were it not for the counteracting influence of the Dick bequest, the power of traditionary custom, and the special qualifications and ambition of the teachers, the Code would inevitably conquer, and reduce the instruction of the three counties to a dead level. Some boards have clearly perceived this tendency, and have met it by allowing one pupil-teacher in excess of the Government requirements, or, what is much better, by appointing a certificated mistress as assistant where one or two pupil-teachers would have satisfied the Education Department. The additional cost of such arrangements varies from £15 to £50 per annum. And this is the price which the boards have to pay for the preservation of the higher instruction. So liberal are the Government grants that the example of the few leading boards might well be followed by all. It is in this direction, beyond all doubt, that the boards must move. This will be the ultimate solution of the local difficulty as to teaching power.

10. Those who have followed this brief account of an important bequest will, I hope, see that if the much-talked-of bridge from the primary school to the university is to be built, the materials and the plan must be similar to those which have constructed the passage in the north-eastern counties of Scotland. High schools with bursaries attached to them will

suffice for town children, but will wholly fail to meet the wants of country children of promising talent. These must be prepared *in loco* for the grammar-school bursaries, at least up to the age of fifteen ; and to secure this we must have, first, highly accomplished schoolmasters for the rural schools not only of Scotland but of England—men who know something from their own experience of university work ; and, secondly, inducements by means of local endowments or Government grants, or both, for these men to do the higher kind of work as well as the lower, and to draw pupils to their classes. This I advocate not merely for the sake of the few who get the immediate benefit, but for the sake of the many who are insensibly raised, morally and intellectually, by seeing what their schoolfellows are doing and their teachers aiming at. Nay, there are considerations of an equally vital kind which, were this the fitting place and time, I could insist on—considerations of a political and social character—which in this connection impress me deeply. It is such an educational system as exists in the three north-eastern counties of Scotland which realizes the true, and only true, democratic idea, in presence of which all questions of suffrage are superficial and trivial. It makes the clever poor contented, and thus saps the foundations of Socialism.

SECONDARY OR HIGH SCHOOLS.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND.*

THERE can be no doubt that in pre-reformation times the number of high schools in Scotland (under the names of grammar and cathedral schools) was larger, in proportion to the population than it is now; and it is also certain that the influence of the revival of letters was felt in these schools quite as soon as in England. In those days, Scotland was in direct political and intellectual relations with the continent of Europe, and those relations were of a more friendly kind than England maintained. Accordingly, it felt the wave of continental life directly, and not only after it had first passed over England. Greek was taught at Montrose in 1534; King James V. was entertained in Aberdeen, in 1540, with orations in *Græca Latinaque lingua summo artificio instructæ*; and John Knox says, in 1543, that the lay members of the Scottish Parliament knew Greek better than the clergy. It would appear, indeed, that Scotland was in the full tide of the

* Read at the Social Science meeting in Aberdeen, in 1879.

Humanistic revival—as is evidenced not merely by its advance in education, but by the vigour and originality of its native literature at a time when literature south of the Tweed was comparatively feeble. Barbour, Blind Harry, James I., Henryson, Dunbar, and Lindsay are greater names than any England has to show, from the death of Chaucer down to the Elizabethan epoch. The effect of the Reformation struggles in retarding the higher conceptions of education which had begun to influence Scotland will form an interesting and instructive topic for the future historian of Scottish high schools. My object here is wholly a practical one. I wish to remind you that weak as the secondary school system in Scotland now is, it was not always so; and that the present circumstances of our country recall us to the national duty of doing what we can to restore and preserve the learning of Scotland under new and suitable forms. This can be done mainly by the revival of our high schools; for although the universities can do much, they cannot rise high except on the sure basis of a sound high school system.

Let us now, as briefly and concisely as possible, consider our present position.

The Scottish Education Act of 1872 secured for every parish of Scotland an educational machinery adequate to its needs so far as primary instruction was concerned, and the Code of the Education Department, which is of the nature of an annual Act of Parliament resting on the statute of 1872, prescribes

the use which is to be made of this machinery in the education of the people. It prescribes, but it does not limit, the range of instruction.

By the same Act the grammar or high schools were transferred from the hands of town councils to the care of the burgh school boards; and rightly so, for the management of these high schools was in itself enough to discredit the whole system of municipal administration. But while by this transference of the management a distinct benefit was conferred on the secondary education of the country, no means were provided for the improvement of these schools other than they had possessed under town councils. Nay, it may be said that the financial resources of these schools were even curtailed, for, prior to 1872, there was nothing, so far as I know, to prevent the town councils voting additional sums from the "common good" for the better endowment of the schools, whereas the school boards were prohibited from doing this.

The author of the Act was himself sufficiently sensible of the inadequacy of his measure so far as it touched the high schools, and he accordingly gave the country at the same time a Commission to inquire into educational endowments.* The substantial result of that Commission was to show that Scotland possessed an educational income from endowments of £175,000 a year, and that a considerable portion of this might fairly be turned in the direction of the

* The Colebrooke Endowed Schools Commission of 1872.

secondary instruction of those who were unable to pay for it, now that public State provision had been made for primary instruction.

Now, I venture to say with a confidence which rests, not on a general but on a detailed knowledge of the wants of Scotland, that a reorganization of the endowed institutions and a devotion of a portion of certain endowments to secondary instruction would do much to equip Scotland with high schools. I am certain, too, that this could be done in such a way as to command the co-operation of the trustees of the endowments themselves, save those whose personal interests conflicted with the public good.

In these circumstances and with these facts before the country it was almost inevitable that some movement should be made to complete the half-built structure of Scottish education, and so to preserve for our country the place which it had previously held among the nations of Europe. Hence the "Association for the Promotion of Secondary Education in Scotland," whose first report, published in 1876.

As to the objects of this Association I would point out, in the first place, that it is not an association merely for the setting up of secondary or high schools, but for the promotion of secondary education in every form, in accordance with the traditions of the past; not because they are traditions, but simply because the system which these traditions hand down has been found to turn out a larger proportion of well-instructed, well-disciplined and capable Scotsmen for

the service of the country than any other that could have been devised. With this system we are resolved not hastily to break. If it has to go, it will go only because it cannot be helped, and because it is quietly superseded by some other system under the law which determines educational as well as natural evolution—the law of natural selection and the survival of the fittest.

First, then, the Association aims at reforming the endowed institutions of the country in so far as they need reform.

Secondly.—It aims at utilizing all endowments, which can fairly and equitably be so utilised, for the promotion of the higher instruction of the clever poor ; and by “poor” we mean those of every rank who, without extraneous aid, could not obtain that higher instruction for which their natural capacities fit them. Until the country is satisfied that the money left to it by past benefactors is rightly used it will not bestir itself to the only kind of voluntary activity which promoters of associations appreciate, the kind which results in liberal voluntary contributions for the improvement of high schools. The fact is (as the Association has already found) that these endowments, so far from promoting, are at this moment a bar in the way of the higher instruction.

Thirdly.—The Association aims at securing an executive body authorized to deal with the whole question of endowments. The need of this has been so strongly felt that the Association has again and

again brought the necessity before Government: so far with a kind of success; for Government has promised to take action.*

Fourthly.—The Association aims at reviving and constituting with larger resources, and with a better organization, all the old grammar or high schools of the country, and of adding to the number of these in populous places. What we need, and how the needs are to be met, I endeavoured to show in a paper read before the annual meeting of the Association held last November. In that paper I said: “It is my object to show what supply of high schools at present exists, what number we shall need, and what means are now available for the adequate supply of the national wants;” and I may here be allowed to quote from what I then said:—

“In Scotland there are 982 civil parishes, including 81 burghs. Of the burghs there are 21 whose population is under 2000, or which in other respects are of such small importance that they may be classed among rural parishes, and treated for educational purposes as rural.

“If to the 60 burghs which remain, after deducting these 21, we add 31 ‘towns’ not burghs, but having more than 2000 inhabitants,† we shall have a pretty complete list of all the places in which high schools should be established—in all 91 localities.

* A Bill has been more than once introduced, and is expected to pass this year (1882).

† Deducting Rutherglen, which is a suburb of Glasgow.

" It is as impracticable as it would be unnecessary to have schools of the first rank, such as the High School of Edinburgh, in all these places. There are, however, 11 towns which, either because of their population, position, or their educational history, or for all these reasons combined, ought, it seems to me, to have schools of the first rank. These are : Aberdeen, Ayr, Dumfries, Dundee, Edinburgh, Elgin, Glasgow, Greenock, Inverness, Perth, Stirling.

" Now, it so happens that high schools in these towns already exist, and that the existing endowments and fees are such that the judicious expenditure of £1000 a year, and such an interpretation of the 64th section of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 as would enable school boards to rate for the repair, cleaning, maintenance as well as for the erection of buildings (which last they are permitted to do), would suffice to place all of them on a perfectly satisfactory footing.*

" There would then remain 79 burghs and towns to be provided with high schools of the *second* and *third* rank. These I would enumerate as follows :—

Royal and Parliamentary Burghs.

Airdrie.	Cupar	Forfar
Annan	Dingwall	Galashiels
Arbroath	Dumbarton	Haddington
Banff	Dunbar	Hamilton
Brechin	Dunfermline	Hawick
Burntisland	Dysart	Inverurie
Campbeltown	Falkirk	Irvine
Cullen	Forres	Jedburgh

* This power is now given by the Act of 1878.

Kilmarnock	Musselburgh	Renfrew
Kirkcaldy	Nairn	Rothesay
Kirkcudbright	Oban	Selkirk
Kirkwall	Paisley	Stranraer
Lanark	Peebles	St. Andrews
Leith	Peterhead	Tain
Linlithgow	Port Glasgow	Wick
Montrose	Portobello	Wigtown —48

Other Towns.

Aberfeldy	Dalkeith	Kirkintilloch
Alloa	Dalry	Lerwick
Ardrossan	Dunoon	Motherwell
Barryhead	Dunse	Newton-Stewart
Bathgate	Fraserburgh	Pitlochrie
Beith	Girvan	Saltcoats
Blairgowrie	Helensburgh	Stonehaven
Castle Douglas	Keith	Thurso
Coatbridge	Kelso	Wishaw
Coupar-Angus	Kingussie	—31
Dalbeattie	Kinross	Total number—79

“Now, without going into unnecessary detail, it may be said generally that in all these towns, with about a dozen exceptions, there either already exists a high school of the *second* or *third* rank,* or there is the germ of such a high school now at this moment in operation. About half of these towns, too, possess endowments of greater or less amount.”

The general result of the organization of the high schools of Scotland would be that we should have 13 high schools of the first rank, 53 of the second rank, and 25 of the third rank—in all 91—in addition to the reformed Endowed schools. This is no great task

* By a high school of the second rank I mean a school which carries boys as far as say the Medical Preliminary Examinations. A high school of the third rank is simply an advanced department of a primary school.

to accomplish. What we want is an organizing body with adequate powers—the same body, perhaps, as that entrusted with the reform of endowments.

One thing more we need—a permissive power to school boards in burghs, towns, and populous localities to impose rates, with a view to raise a fund to meet any grants which might be made by an executive body charged with the general administration.* This body might also be empowered to draw on the Treasury, if necessary, to a limited amount ; this draft on the national exchequer being protected by two conditions : (1) that no sums be allowed to any school in localities where endowments already exist that could be made available; and (2) that an equivalent should be, in all cases, locally raised. Twenty thousand a year would suffice ! With this paltry sum and the help of existing endowments the whole work could be done. And if we are to have a Board of Educational Supervision for Scotland, which we unquestionably ought to have, this, with the drafting of a Code, the auditing of accounts, and a general supervision of the working out of the clauses of the Act of 1872 in the various parishes, might constitute its work. It might also serve as a Court of Appeal against the unjust dismissal of teachers.

Fifthly.—The Association aims at preserving secondary instruction in public rural primary schools. Towns can take care of themselves. The higher the aim of the schoolmaster, the better for the education

* Now given by the Act of 1878 (18th section).

of the school. Does the boy who leaves the fourth form of an English public school receive no benefit from the mere existence of fifth or sixth forms, although he never attends them? Those who think this do not, it seems to me, understand what education means, or how the higher work of an institution tells on the lowest work done in it. But, quite apart from the effect which the higher instruction in public schools has on those who do not share it, it is at once manifest that, without the provisions which the Association contemplates, higher instruction generally would be practically confined to those resident in the vicinity of high schools, if it were crushed out of country districts. Once for all, it should be clearly understood that this is not a question of Universities *versus* high schools, or of primary schools *versus* high schools. It is not intended by those who urge the preservation of what we may call "University subjects" in the rural public schools that these schools should be in *direct* contact with the Universities. By all means let promising country lads be drafted into high schools before proceeding to the University; but inasmuch as this drafting is, generally speaking, impracticable before a boy is about fifteen years of age, it is urged that up to this age the *country school* should give him his preparation.*

Sixthly.—The sixth object of the Association is suggested by the last—the encouragement of the

* The Endowed Institutions Commissioners have, since the above was written, recommended this to Parliament.

production of teachers for the public rural schools competent to give the instruction necessary to carry a boy at the age of fifteen to a high school. This does not involve the abolition of the existing Normal School system, but merely the institution of a parallel or co-operative training in the Universities.*

Seventhly.—The Association aims at the institution of bursaries to be held at high schools. There is money enough in the country for this already, and an executive body would know where to find it, with the cordial concurrence even of those now in charge of the funds. The Executive would in this connection work out the 46th clause of the Act of 1872, which provides that “it shall be lawful for the school board from time to time, with the sanction of the Board of Education, to vary or depart from trusts with a view of raising the efficiency of the parish or burgh school by raising the standard of education therein or otherwise.” There is £20,000 a year awaiting this application.

Eighty.—The Association aims not merely at providing money and machinery, but also at improving the *curriculum* of high schools, having due regard to the requirements of different districts.

These are the aims of the Association. No one who reads the names of its members, comprising leading men of all political parties, can doubt that the programme of the Association expresses the mind of Scotland.

* This object is now substantially attained by modifications in the Scotch Code.

Nor has the Association been without fruit thus early. Its very existence has called attention to the national needs, and stirred up a strong desire in many localities to do for themselves or what the Association aims at.

The Association has obtained the consent of Government to the issuing of an Executive Commission to deal with endowments; and has, by memorial or deputation, represented the necessity of encouraging the higher instruction in public schools and of providing a more liberally educated class of schoolmasters for these schools. It has also, by the circulation of its report and otherwise, directed public attention to the wants of Scotland. It will continue to prosecute its objects as hitherto until they are attained.

The movements going on around us show the effect which the report of the Endowed Schools Commission and the action of the Association have already had. The trustees of many institutions not only acquiesce in reform but earnestly desire it, and many have already bestirred themselves to the extent of their present limited legal powers. In Glasgow the Hutcheson Hospital trustees have taken a great and important step; the Buchanan Society has a scheme in type; and the representatives of other educational endowments in Glasgow, by deputation to the Lord Advocate, have expressed their desire for reforming powers. In Dumfriesshire, Wallace-hall Academy desires reform; from Elgin a petition has gone up to the Home Secretary; in Stirling trustees

of an annual income of nearly £4000 are impatient because of the Government delays ; the same is true of the Spiers trustees, in Ayrshire. The Philp trustees, in Fifeshire, are initiating a scheme of their own ; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has already in operation a scheme which will provide bursaries for Highland and Island lads in sufficient number to settle the question of secondary education in the whole of the North-west of Scotland ; the Dundee high school has been thoroughly reorganized, and has started on a new lease of life ; Dunfermline, Haddington, Peebles, Hamilton have raised their schools to high schools ; while in some instances endowments have already been given or promised. All that is needed is action by Government to collect, concentrate, direct, and organize the energy of the country. If we had this, the lapse of a few years would, I am persuaded, see Scotland again at the head of the countries of Europe.

NOTE.—Since the above was written many of the objects of the Association have been gained ; but much still remains to be done.

ON THE GOVERNMENT OF HIGH SCHOOLS.*

THE question, which I venture briefly to treat, is substantially this: What is the best governing body for High schools? It seems to be assumed in Great Britain that there ought to be both local and centralized administration working together; and this assumption I am willing to accept in a country like our own, where the citizens as a whole are sufficiently enlightened to govern, or at least to share in government. The question accordingly resolves itself into one as to the nature and limits of the local and central authorities respectively.

But this question cannot even be approached until we have settled the work which the authorities we propose to set up have to do. To enter into the details of their duties would be here out of place, and I accordingly content myself with the merely general statement that they have to fix, guide, and control the education of youth between the age of eleven and seventeen, and to settle any questions

* Read to the Social Science Conference in Edinburgh.

of internal discipline that may be forced before their notice. I limit myself to seventeen, because I am convinced that boys will best prosecute their education after this age at the universities, the arguments in support of this opinion being here omitted. But this is not all: the governing bodies have to fix the curriculum of schools and the qualifications and remuneration of teachers, to select teachers, and to govern teachers.

In the first section of their duties, it would be unreasonable to expect in governing bodies technical knowledge. In all questions of a technical kind, the head-master should be supreme, aided by the special knowledge of the under-masters, each in his own department. But we are entitled to expect in the governing body a clear conception of the aim of school instruction, and of the relative value of studies. It is essential, therefore, that the governing bodies should be composed of intelligent and instructed men, and that they should belong to the class in society which they are educating; also that they be fairly well informed in the subject of education and not wholly ignorant of the scholastic machinery of contemporary nations. In the second section of their duties, qualities of a higher kind are needed. There can be no doubt of this,—that the education of youths of the middle and upper classes (and these classes chiefly occupy high schools) can be adequately conducted only by masters who are not merely thoroughly qualified each in his own

department, but who are also, in respect of general cultivation and personal bearing, on a level with the parents of the boys they are instructing. The intellectual influence of teachers *largely* depends on this, the moral influence *wholly* depends on it. Great learning and native capacity will make up to some extent, doubtless, for personal defects, but only to some extent. The governing bodies, accordingly, ought to be so constituted as to put it beyond all question that scholars of ability and learning, who at the same time are men of a good social standing, or who by education have raised themselves to a position of social equality with the parents of their pupils, will feel that their interests are safe, and that their independence and self-respect will be respected. No man is fitted to be a teacher in a high school, still less in a university, by virtue alone of his eminence in a particular branch of knowledge. The poorer classes of the community are, in this respect, fortunate, for the great mass of the pupils of the primary schools are below the social class from whom the teachers are drawn, while none are above the social position which the teacher has legitimately gained for himself. In the ordinary English high schools, on the other hand, it is only a small percentage of the teachers who stand in a similar relation to their pupils. It may be otherwise in the great public schools of England, but this exception supports my argument; for in these schools, the social position and personal dignity of schoolmasters have been confided to the care of gentle-

men, while the emoluments have generally been such as to attract men of the middle and cultivated class.

Having indicated, in general terms, the function of local governing bodies, the question now is, How are we to get bodies qualified for the discharge of this function?

The high school of a county town, let me first say, exists, not for the town alone, but for the county. The county accordingly should be rated for its support, in so far as it may be supported by rates; the rural districts, however, paying only a modified sum as compared with the town for whose benefit the school mainly exists. That where there is a general rate, there should be general representation, is a settled conviction of the British mind. This general doctrine, it seems to me, has in all cases to be modified by the purpose for which a rate is taken up. In the matter of secondary education, what we have to secure is men competent to discharge the kind of administrative duty with respect to education which has been already briefly sketched above. Boards elected by the general body of rate-payers are incompetent for the task,—incompetent, if we look merely to the standing and efficiency of the schools and the due protection of the masters. But there is more than this to be considered. All men who really understand what they are talking about desire to see the body of masters in each town or district constituting themselves a kind of college, and directly influencing the whole locality by their

example of a learned and cultured life. This kind of influence is only second in importance to that of teaching in the schools.

An adequate conception of the position and function of the high school and its collegiate body of masters is manifestly quite beyond boards elected by the £4 householder. Nay, more, I hold that boards so elected are incompetent even to control the parochial or primary school, wherever it assumes, as it often does in Scotland, a quasi-secondary character and becomes a higher-primary school. The rural boards, I repeat, are unfit to govern these schools; and this chiefly because the members are brought into such direct relations with the average rate-payer, that they must very often be guided by his views. These are contracted in the extreme,—necessarily and inevitably contracted and illiberal. To save a few pounds to the parish to-day, they will sacrifice what would yield to the State, in the sphere of civic action, thousands in the long day. If this be so in the case of higher-primary schools, what can we expect in the case of high schools? Are the poorer classes to govern the education of the middle and upper classes, simply because they pay an infinitesimal portion of the rate which may go to upper schools? Is ignorance to legislate for knowledge? Doubtless the boards elected by large burghs will be generally composed—in part at least—of more educated and larger minded men than rural boards contain; but as they are elected mainly in the interest of primary

schools and of the great mass of the population, they are vitiated in their constitution from the beginning. I know such a board, which debated for several meetings whether it should pay for certain absolutely necessary apparatus. They were afraid to add a few pounds to the rates (which, by-the-by, gave nothing to the high school), because their poorer constituents, who wrongly thought that they had no immediate interest in the high school, might possibly object, although these poorer constituents have their own schools maintained chiefly by the money of the middle classes. The rate for high schools, it is true, might be taken up only from householders who paid more than £12 rent, but there are serious difficulties in the way of making such distinctions in rating for particular purposes. And besides, it would be a most unwholesome procedure, because it tends to separate classes and class interests, and restrict and degrade a citizen's notions of the community of national interests which it is desirable to foster in each and all. It is not in the interest of the middle or upper classes alone that we have high schools or universities, but in the interest of all classes. The nation needs trained intellects and minds for the public service, and for literature, science, and philosophy ; and this for the sake of the nation, not for the sake of a class. At the same time, I object to governing bodies constituted by the votes of all the rate-payers, for the very good reason that they would defeat the end the State has in view, in promoting the higher education. It seems to be a mere

political superstition to hold that rate-paying, any more than taxation, should in all cases involve *direct* representation. If the simple consideration of rate-paying is to determine the constitution of a representative body, then it surely follows logically that the representation should be regulated by the amount paid by each ; that is to say, if the income of a high school in a large city is £10,000 a year from fees, endowments, and rates, and the proportion of this contributed by householders rated at less than £10 is one twentieth, their representation on the governing body should be only one twentieth. To this arrangement no one would object ; but as it is said to be an impracticable one, the same end should be attained in some other way.

It might be said that my argument against direct rate-paying representation leads directly to the placing of the whole higher education under a centralized state authority and making it a "public service." This, however, would involve us in a serious evil of another kind, to which reference will be made in the sequel. Moreover, I thoroughly respect the popular element, so long as it is not the plebeian element. It is of great value, and we cannot afford to dispense with it. Had the English public schools been under the influence, even partially, of any popular authority in past generations, the minds of those constituting that authority would have been, from time to time inevitably exercised on general questions of education. The action of this authority would have evoked a

response in the general community which would have so effectually directed attention to the intellectual blunders and moral evils connected with the whole system, that we should have been where we are now a century sooner. Still-existing evils—such as that, for example, of allowing the masters to be practically hotel-keepers and provision contractors—would be blown away by the popular breath. Indeed the breath of the people where they have reached a certain level of intelligence is always healthy ; but the breath of the lowest stratum of voters, where it proponderates or is active, is, in education, at least, pernicious. Parents should take an interest in the education of their children, and should have a proper channel for expressing that interest in a collective way,—that is to say, through governing bodies,—while personal and individual interference should be discouraged. Moreover, education in the larger sense is promoted if we engage in its service the thoughts of the people. It ought not to be restricted to school-masters. This public interest reacts on family life, and helps to give to education its due importance in the State. I do not think it can attain its due importance in the thoughts of men, if it be left in the hands of a centralized bureau, even if the result of the action of the bureau were to be a theoretically perfect scholastic system. It is better to have some deficiencies and many variations, if at this price we engage the mind and heart of the country in the work. Indeed, education in the broader sense is not

attained for the community until it begins to occupy the thought of individual citizens as at once a private and a public concern. Interest in the education of youth educates the adult himself.

Accordingly, I would place all high schools in a county under a committee or board, elected jointly by the existing town school boards to the extent of one half, the other half of the board being elected by the county boards—when these are constituted—and by one or other of the Universities; since high schools are to a large extent preparatory schools for the Universities. Under high schools should be included, for purposes of supervision, if not control, all endowed educational institutions, simply leaving the charitable part of the administration of these under the trustees appointed by the testator (or such modifications of the trust body as might be absolutely essential). Such a board would be a strong one, and able to resist over-centralization.

Let us next consider the relation of high schools to the State ; that is to say, to the centralized administration to which we commonly apply the term "State."

Why should there be a centralized administration at all ? In very many matters of national concern, and especially in postal, military, and foreign affairs, centralization is by common consent essential. But it is certainly not desirable that centralization should in any department of social administration be pushed further than may be absolutely necessary. In the opinion of many thoughtful statesmen it is even now

overdone, and the current of political action ought rather now to run in the direction of decentralization. The majority of thoughtful men hold this doctrine even in matters of ordinary material concern. Whatever can be administered locally should be administered locally, if we are to preserve the spontaneity, independence, and vigour of the citizens, and widen their daily life beyond the narrow business of the shop and the domestic kitchen. If decentralization be desirable in the administration of merely material concerns, how much more in matters that affect the thought and moral life of a community! In truth, thought and moral life exist only in so far as they are local, individual, free, and spontaneous. Adaptation of a man's opinions and acts to the thought of others, and obedience to the precepts of others, are doubtless acts of intelligence, and suit perhaps the majority of mankind; but the true life and progress of a community are wrapped up in the individuality and free mental activity of the citizens. It is dangerous, then, to allow the education of a country to fall into the hands of a central bureau. It gives the workers of the state machinery too much power. With a stroke of the pen they can alter the curriculum of education; by their dominating supervision they can crush out all spontaneous activity, and with this, all true life. Bureaucracy is as opposed to the genius of a free race as is absolutism. A bureaucrat is almost of necessity a doctrinaire. Official minds are apt, with a view to simplicity in administration, to ignore provincial feel-

ings, habits, and peculiarities, oblivious of the fact that difference is essential to vitality. A dead level of uniformity must inevitably have charms for the bureaucratic eye. At present, in the case of primary instruction in England, the "local authorities" are in point of fact, merely channels for conveying the stream of power which has its source in Whitehall. The liberty of school boards is the liberty to acquiesce. This is not wholesome for the country, and it is depressing to the teacher, who, if he be worthy of his vocation, is less of a machine than the members of most professions. If the teacher is to succeed, he must work with the energy that comes from freedom and from a consciousness that he is at liberty to initiate as well as to execute. Centralization, by subduing individuality, stifles originality and paralyzes the will. A system of high schools, all uniform and subject to one central authority would, I believe, be far more dangerous to our educational well-being than the control of the humblest class of rate-payers could possibly be.

At the same time, we must not lose sight of the fact that without some controlling power, the organization of a high-school system and the maintenance of that organization are impracticable. Educational information has to be collected. Money also is wanted from general taxation to subsidize local rating, and with the giving of money comes a certain control. But it is not necessary that much money should be given by the State, and still less is it necessary that there should be much control with a view to see that

the money is well spent. Supervision, not government, is all that is needed, and all that the contribution of the State would justify. All that the State has to care for is, that proper provision is made for the preparation of teachers for high schools, and that annual reports from all the high-school governing bodies are, along with the educational statistics of the year, laid before the Government. From time to time, once in four or five years, it might examine the schools. It might further specify the examinations for testing boys when leaving for the universities, and perhaps at other periods of the curriculum. Such should be the limits of the State interference, and they should be defined by statute ; all else, I think, should be in the hands of the local county authorities.

To the question, Should the present Education Department be the controlling State authority in Great Britain ? I answer, No, so long as it retains its present form. As a department, it is efficient ; in some respects, perhaps, too efficient. A Minister of public instruction, advised by an Educational Council, consisting more or less of paid experts, sitting from week to week, but not changing with the Government of the day, would constitute, I think, a safer administrative body. Control by the present Education Department is substantially control by secretaries and clerks, and must always be so. This we all know means that some one assistant secretary—a man, it *may be* of small capacity and slight interest in education, and it *must be* of an official, nay of an office-and-

desk habit of mind, and with a soul often dry and parched with the dust of filed documents—governs boards and masters who may have a much better conception of what is desirable and practicable in education. Men of this class are notoriously impervious to all ideas, and have a self-complacent way of mistaking their own imperviousness for sound, practical common-sense. It is only a very powerful mind that can resist successfully the insidious encroachments of routine and precedent.

My answer, then, to this question of High School government is :—*

First, that High schools should be under popular control, but that the controlling body should be so constituted as to guard against ignorance and illiberality of view.

Secondly, that as all organized educational machinery exists, not for the individual, but for the State, State supervision should be exercised with a view to maintain a high standard, and the general carrying out of the law; but that this supervision should be so strictly defined *by statute* in respect of its objects as to protect education from the evil of centralization and despotism, and that the supervising body should be a Minister of public instruction advised by an Educational Council consisting of experts partly paid.

* The subject of this paper was prescribed to the writer of it with a view to its forming a basis for discussion. Hence the somewhat curt and dogmatic treatment.

ON LINGUISTIC *VERSUS* SCIENTIFIC INSTRUCTION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.*

IN considering this question, it is necessary to clear away from the field of discussion all illusory imaginations as to the larger proportion of boys who would benefit by a middle-school system, based solely on scientific training, as compared with the number which might benefit by the discipline afforded through the classical tongues if good methods were employed. Severe and sustained intellectual work, having knowledge or other mental purposes exclusively in view, is naturally distasteful to the great majority of boys. We must not draw too large an inference from the inquisitiveness and love of knowledge which characterize childhood. The recipient stage of a child's life should be gently and wisely dealt with, and this it is the function of the primary school to do. But in the middle school, receptivity has given place in the boy to force, which seeks not to accept impressions, but rather to make them. To break in upon the spontaneous and healthy expression of this

* *i.e.* where the pupils are from twelve to sixteen years of age.

fresh boyish energy with Latin prose composition or classifications of birds and beasts, is, even in the most favourable circumstances, to traverse the natural and genial current of young life, and to call for a painful and self-sacrificing exertion of will. Most boys will be found to make this exertion, when they do make it, not from love of the work itself, but from emulation, or from the moral considerations of respect for authority, of personal attachment, or a sense of duty. Of this we may be sure, that when inborn stupidity and rampant boyism have claimed their own, the residue of real intellectual workers, where there is no external motive to intellectual exertion, will always be found numerically disappointing. Nor will the substitution of pneumatics, physiology, and chemistry, for Latin and Greek, draw out a larger amount of talent than these do, or show better on the reckoning-day when stock is taken of the quantity and quality of available knowledge and discipline really acquired. That by means of better books and of methods based on a knowledge of human nature, a larger proportion of boys might be drawn within the circle of school-work, is undeniably; but this points to the improvement of existing practice, not to the subversion of the existing system of studies.

There are, it seems to us, only two valid objections to the prevalent practice of our public schools :—(1.) The almost entire exclusion from these schools of elementary physics and social economy, which, if properly taught, can be made attractive as well as

instructive, promoting rather than retarding the magisterial classical and mathematical studies. (2.) The non-provision of a course of study for those pupils who do not contemplate a university career, and whose intellects, though repelled by linguistic subjects, might possibly be reached by those consecutive and methodical accounts of the external world which we call Science. If the study of Latin and Greek, as the leading subjects of middle-school work, renders once for all inevitable the total exclusion of all instruction regarding external nature and economic science, the cause of the classicists is, by the admission of this necessity, fatally weakened. As a matter of fact, however, there is no difficulty in prosecuting the study of the ancient languages concurrently with those subjects which every educated man may be reasonably expected to know in their elementary principles and general purport. This amount of (so-called) *realistic* scientific knowledge is easy of attainment in secondary schools, and as imperative as it is easy. Such subjects as natural history are probably best treated as diversions or recreations.

It is only after we have assumed *a certain amount* of realistic instruction in natural science to be given in public secondary schools to all the pupils, and a separate educational provision for those who are by nature disqualified for linguistic discipline, that we properly approach the question of Language *versus* Science as an educative instrument; and the question

then becomes this: Is formal science, as such, or the classical tongues, when taught with average ability (for it is only on a mediocre teaching capacity that we ever can safely rely in estimating the value of subjects of instruction), more promotive of the formation of a good intellectual habit?

To state the question of a classical *versus* a scientific education as a training in the knowledge of the lifeless signs of speech and their relations, *versus* a training in a knowledge of living Nature and its manifold operations, is to misrepresent the point at issue. In the University, and in the upper classes of the middle school, the dispute is *not* between the claims of formal and of real studies. Both studies present the realities of knowledge to the mind of the student—the one the realities of man's nature, the other the realities of physical nature. Again, both Greek and physics exercise and discipline the formal powers of intellect, and both admit the student to an unconscious knowledge of the operation and the laws of intelligence. But that the purely formal discipline of language (where we happen to have a highly developed language to work with) is more delicate and subtle, more deep and thorough, than that of physics, is, we think, justly maintained.

The further superiority claimed for classical training over scientific consists in this, that in the former we have the generalizations of the wisest men on human life and human duty expressed in the most

artistic forms ; in the latter we have only generalizations on the facts and sequences of the visible world. The realities of moral experience, embodied in forms historical and dramatic, as these are impressed on the acquiring mind by the very effort applied in deciphering a difficult language, are of more value, both in themselves and as giving solidity and permanent power to the mental fabric, than a knowledge of the phenomena of heat and electricity. These moral generalizations of the wise are, in truth, an unsystematic philosophy of human nature, furnishing the learner not only with the experience of the past, but with instruction in the motives and purposes of life.

To become acquainted with the thoughts and imaginations of the past, through the medium of translation or when transfused through modern literatures, is to sacrifice the benefits which we derive from the study of thought produced in circumstances not only different from, but even in some respects antagonistic to, our own. It is to sacrifice also the artistic form in which the thoughts are clothed—forms which are the most perfect in literature, and which the structure of the ancient languages forces even upon the negligent student. The peculiar value of the æsthetics of the intellect and of morality, as distinguished from the æsthetics of feeling and emotion, in promoting the discipline and cultivation of mind, and, above all, of the opening mind of youth, has not been adverted to by writers on education, though it must have been experienced by all who have had the

benefits of a classical training. It is not simply an æsthetic, but also an intellectual and moral cultivation, which flows from close contact with ideal and artistic forms of utterance.

Such results in the growth of mind are, it is true, neither ponderable nor commensurable quantities, but they assuredly tend to produce a *quality* of mind rarely to be attained in any other way, save by men of native genius. Richter has well said, and probably without much exaggeration—"The present ranks of humanity would sink irrecoverably if youth did not take its way through the silent temple of the mighty past into the busy market-place of after-life."

Let us look at the contending claims of language and science closely in their relation to the growth of intelligence.

As an intellectual discipline, language makes good its claim to preference on the following among other grounds :—

i. Words stand for things real or notional. Now it is only in so far as words denote the objects of external perception that a training based on science can be said to have advantage over linguistic training. Even in this case, however, language is defined for the pupil only within the narrow limits of the department, or fragment of departments; which it is possible within a given time to teach, whereas linguistic training, by teaching the value of words, *as such*, to whatever department of human knowledge they may

belong, educates the intellect to precision in the use of them generally. So true is this, that men trained only in a special department of science, and whose education is limited by it, fail to use the language even of their own department with that accuracy and consistency of signification which would alone satisfy a mind trained on language or philosophy. In the only sense, then, in which physical science, to *the extent to which it can be taught to boys*, can affect to do the work of linguistic training, it does not succeed. Even if it succeeded, how small the ground it would cover! The language of a single department of science or fragments of a few sciences, which, moreover, in so far as they are fragmentary, fail to yield true discipline, would represent the whole range of the vocabulary taught. All those words which are daily in our mouths as denoting the realities which are constantly influencing our lives in all social and moral relations, would be left outside the range of the scientific teaching. It would be superfluous here to dwell either on the pre-eminent importance of this aspect of man's daily existence, or on the immense value of a right understanding of words, and a wise use of them. Every successive inquirer into human nature has descended on the error, misunderstanding, and consequent misery, into which an abuse of words is constantly betraying mankind. It seems to me that if a linguistic training had no other result than to teach us that words were our servants and not our masters, and that we must question, define, weigh,

and estimate them, it would require little other defence of its claim to the traditional prominence in the secondary school which it happily inherits.

2. When we pass from the consideration of the discipline of language in teaching us the exact use of single terms, to the employment of these in the expression of our thoughts under the necessary operation of mental laws, we find in language a just, though imperfect, reflection of intellectual processes. In this view the study of language is the informal study of the laws of thought. We may assume that few will be prepared to require from boys that reflective grasp of intellectual laws, that effort after a conscious realization of abstract processes, which is implied in any study of logic or psychology worthy of the name. At the same time, all will recognize the paramount importance of exercising the formal powers of mind, and, by a careful method, giving practice in the art, while avoiding the scientific terminology and formulæ, of logic. Now, it is precisely in this relation that the distinctive characteristic of language-training reveals itself. For language being the body of thought, the student of it is studying concrete mind. While dealing with objective things—with vocables, which are audible and visible, and which, therefore, do not evade his grasp,—he is at the same time unconsciously tracing the operations of intellect in others, and learning the right use of his own faculties; in other words, he is a student of logic, in the widest sense of that term, without being aware of it.

Nor is this position a vague affirmation; it is capable of illustration in detail:—

In the first place, the similarities of inflection in a sentence leads the pupil to the clear perception of the concord and partial identity in thought of subject and attribute, whether the attributive appears as an adjective, or a predicative verb. The distinct forms by which inflected languages indicate this mental concord must necessarily give the pupil a clearer notion of what a judgment and an affirmation really are. We do not here speak of the use which might be made of this part of linguistic discipline by a teacher who was himself conscious of the course of logic which his instructions in language were scarcely veiling, but of the *inevitable* discipline which the average boy receives from the average teacher. And it is not only in simple sentences that the pupil is thus exercised in the concord of thought as expressed in attribution, but he is also led by the help of the same mutual good understanding among the inflections to trace a connection between clauses, and to detect the fact that complete assertions, no less than individual words, may be attributive of each other. The tracing out and perception of this unity of thought between affirmations is a valuable intellectual exercise.

We pass over the clearness which must be given to the pupil's perception of time and of government by the resembling, yet differing, terminations of verbs and nouns, to point out the training in syllogistic logic which he necessarily receives when he enters on the

analysis of an involved complex sentence. The varying inflections of the words before him necessarily lead him to the discrimination of an assertion from its grounds, and of a conclusion from its causes, motives, or purposes. The forms set apart to denote these qualities of propositions compel his attention, detain it, and thus fix the distinctions in his mind. Again, those qualities of propositions which we express by the words hypothesis and probability, and even so fine a distinction as that between probability and possibility, are forced upon the understanding of the learner, however unconscious the teacher may be of the full meaning and value of the instrument he is using, and however ignorant the pupil of the logical generalizations of propositions and the names by which these generalizations are known. What higher discipline of intellect can be proposed for a boy whom we desire to discipline severely, but whose self-consciousness we do not yet wish to evoke, or to force into activity, than to lay before him a mass of words, apparently dead and disjointed signs, and to require that, from a steady consideration of these, the living organism of speech shall be built up—an organism into which all the formal elements of intellect run, and which calls for the discrimination, not only of the various relations in thought of the propositions before him, but of the precise force of many and various vocables, possessing it may be a wide and various connotation?

Nay, I go further, and maintain that for the pro-

duction of a scientific habit of intellect we shall best employ some years of boyhood in the study of language. For this study exercises the mind at once subtly and profoundly; it penetrates all the recesses of fallacy, and thereby habituates the mind to the search for exactness and truth—the highest of all qualifications for scientific investigation. By its breadth of reach it widens the conceptions and elevates the intelligence above the dominion of words and phrases. This or that department of science is no longer the master of the scientific intelligence, but its servant. It is seen in its true proportions as only a part of the general truth of life and furniture of the human soul. Comprehension and grasp are thus given, and the man who after linguistic training becomes the thorough master of any one science, is truly a master of it, because he sees it in its true proportions and in its relations to the vast realm of knowledge. Setting aside men of genius, is not the man of one science, or even two, about the narrowest and hopelessly barren of all the educated men one can talk with? It is true that much of what we desire in the pure man of science may be obtained from literature; but, at a certain stage of education, language properly understood and taught *is* literature as an exact study. Language-study then, I maintain, gives comprehension of mind and power of intellect, and is consequently the best of all preparations for even the scientific man; and further, it gives greater acuteness of discrimination—a most important attribute of

the highest scientific minds. And, in short, the formal study of language is the most admirable of all exercises in the analysis and synthesis which constitute the whole method of science.

3. To the reply that the intellectual discipline of which we speak can be equally well obtained from subjects more immediately useful than Latin and Greek, such as natural science, we would rejoin :—

The instruction of boys, in all subjects in which the real as opposed to the formal is, from the nature of the case, of primary importance, must be dogmatic. Up to the age of sixteen, or, perhaps, even seventeen, even a statement of *principles* is received by boys as dogma : to suppose anything else is to deceive ourselves. Though they may be occasionally startled into the conscious perception of rational relations under the influence of a teacher of original mind, they do not and cannot, in any adequate sense, realize the reasoning process by which scientific conclusions are reached. Hence, while in the study of natural science, or any branch of it, they are doubtless taught not only facts, but classifications and laws, and causes in relation to their effects, these are not, and in almost all cases cannot be, elaborated by the pupil himself. The teaching of them, accordingly, is apt to degenerate into a statement of fact, and the learning of them into an act of memory.

It is to be at once conceded, that were pupils led by an intelligent and rarely-endowed master in an inquiry into nature, with a view to re-establish, for

himself, results already known, a training would by this means be given unequalled as a discipline ; but such a method of instruction is on a large scale quite impracticable, and, even if practicable, it would be premature in its demands on the pupil's powers. Those educationalists, who are not mere theorists, feel the necessity of finding an instrument which does not over-strain boys, and which can work fairly well in the hands of no very cunning workmen. Where natural science is that instrument, the method which looks so well in theory must degenerate in actual practice into the most ordinary and vulgar cram. Differences, generalizations, laws, and causes will not be truly apprehended *as such*, but will be arranged in the pupil's mind by virtue of association alone, however glibly they may be enunciated at call in their proper places and sequences. It is only the select few, even of those who fairly master the subject taught, that are fully conscious of the reasoning process involved, and do not simply trust to faithful memory and association.

It is no doubt true that, a few years later, the boy who has been well taught in one or two departments of science may reflect on the results of that teaching, and in this way these results may fructify into a kind of retrospective discipline ; the relation of cause and effect, differences, likenesses, and the elements of generalizations, may be then seen, and the intellectual ends of education be thus attained. But even the production of this winter-fruit assumes particularly good

teaching, a good memory, and habits of mind which are naturally more than usually reflective. In language, on the contrary, the intellectual processes of differentiation, generalization, and reasoning are not only much more fully, delicately, and variously represented than in physics, but they have the signal advantage of not being offered to the learner as scientific *results* which are capable of being tabulated and acquired by the memory as so many co-ordinated facts. On the contrary, they have in every successive sentence to be sought out and brought to light *anew*, and this as the very condition of making a single progressive step. The boy's daily task is the constructing of a living organism out of a seemingly chaotic aggregation of dead symbols, and in the construction of this he brings into play all his intellectual faculties whether he will or not. The discipline is thus obtained independently of the teacher, and we might almost say independently of the will of the pupil also.

Of no other instrument of discipline can this be said except geometry, and the kind of cultivation which it gives is of too narrow a kind to admit of its ever being more than the accessory of other educational instruments. The precision of the definitions in geometry, the necessity of constantly referring to them, and the purity of the exercise in syllogistic reasoning which it affords, are of great benefit to the intellect. But alone, and unsupported by the higher linguistic training, it would be an unsatisfactory and

barren discipline in even mere syllogistic logic. The subject-matter of the reasoning is confined within too narrow limits, and the landmarks of the ratio-cinative process are too clearly defined, to admit of geometry ever affording by itself a liberal culture. Both the subject and the discipline which it gives, are alike too monotonous and inflexible.

In the study of languages the boy either does the work before him or he does not: if he does it, he cannot, if he would, avoid obtaining the discipline which the work affords; whereas, in elementary science, the power of mere memory facilitates the acquisition of a semblance of knowledge which may pass muster, but which, I maintain, does not yield a thorough discipline of any faculties save those of memory and association. We shall, perhaps, be told that boys can and do understand the science teaching; but when we examine closely we find that the objectors do not really mean strict science at all, but only Nature-knowledge, and this we have already said ought, as a matter of course, to have its place in every secondary school.

Accordingly, as in the training to a perception of the force of vocables, so also in the disciplining of the formal and intellectual powers, there seem to be sufficient grounds for maintaining that science, *as it can be alone taught to boys between twelve and sixteen years of age*, is a feeble educative instrument as compared with language.

The kind of discipline above claimed as the almost exclusive property of language in the field of second-

ary instruction, cannot be so surely obtained through the modern tongues, except in those cases (on which it would be vain to calculate) in which the rare excellence and general philological cultivation of the master supplement the inherent defects of his instruments. It is the contrast of the Latin and Greek tongues to our native mode of casting thought, no less than their own perfection of structure, that makes them so valuable as a discipline. The conspicuous devices, moreover, whereby, in these tongues, grammatical, and therefore thought-relations are indicated, reveal, even to the careless pupil of the most ordinary teacher, the logical structure of language. The organic character of thought is thereby more completely exhibited, the relations of its elements more delicately indicated, and the whole rivetted more firmly into a compact living body in the classical tongues than any other.*

If nature-knowledge and mathematics and modern languages, including our own language, are all admitted to a place in our secondary schools, it is of course impossible to preserve to both Latin and Greek their present practical monopoly. The ship must be lightened or it will never reach its port. Greek, in short, and it is to be said with regret, must give way and stand aside as a subject taught in all.

* The larger literary and æsthetic arguments in favour of basing secondary education on the classical tongues are not here discussed. Our object has been simply to show the nature of the intellectual operations which language on the one hand, and science on the other, calls into play in boys between twelve and sixteen,

secondary schools, but only as a special subject to be taken by those who choose. I do not believe in what are called "modern sides" in classical schools. Education at the secondary stage is a unity, as it is in the primary stage. It is only after sixteen that the process of specialization can be allowed to show itself. To exclude Latin as well as Greek from the obligatory curriculum would be an educational calamity. Being the store-house of a large portion of our own tongue, it yields in quite a peculiar degree an exercise in the history and force of words. In studying Latin we are studying our native, if not our mother, tongue, and it is hopeless to look for a grasp of modern English if we are ignorant of one of its sources. When we add to this the fact that it is the basis of the Romance languages, and smooths the way to an acquaintance with these, we add the consideration of utility to an already adequate ground of preference.

MONTAIGNE AS AN EDUCATIONALIST.

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MONTAIGNE, the essayist and sceptic, continues, after a lapse of three hundred years, to speak to us with all the freshness of a contemporary. Among mere men of the world he is sovereign. He is original and unique, and at the same time a type of a class. Though the class he represents may not be a large one, he yet gives expression to a way of estimating life which is a passing mood of all thoughtful minds. He thus leads a large constituency—all the larger that he makes no tyrannical demands, and warns the reader not to labour after even him. Few writers say so many wise things as Montaigne does, and no one appears so little solicitous about convincing others that his sayings are wise. His intellectual philosophy is essentially sophistical and sceptical, his morality conventional, and his moral philosophy epicurean.

We are not disposed, however, to allow to Montaigne, and such easy-going sceptics as he, the superiority to limitations that they claim. It is all

very well to proclaim the impossibility of finding absolute truth, and to luxuriate in a cultured indifference, but at the foundation of such talk there in truth lies a philosophical conviction as positive as that of the most ardent zealot. The conviction is that, doomed as man is to nescience, the happiness of each individual is for himself the only solid pursuit, and is to be at all hazards cherished. The standard of happiness will doubtless vary with the idiosyncrasies and circumstances of each man, but must always, with cultivated men, embrace equability of mind, balance of judgment, a kindly disposition to all with whom they are brought in contact, an indisposition to exertion for any purpose whatsoever as leading to certain disturbance and almost as certain disappointment, a horror of a "Cause," and a strict regard to the comforts of the animal economy generally. Intellectual scepticism is itself in truth an implicit dogmatism, and in the field of moral action it is epicurean dogmatism. No man, in truth, holds more tightly to a positive philosophy of life than Montaigne. Doubtless the attitude of inquiry, the *que sais-je?* gives a breadth and elasticity of mind and promotes a geniality of nature that have their charms, and are genuine objects of desire to most men. They are, however, the true possession only of those who are not "too sure" of anything. A steady sustained conviction that there is nothing admitting of conviction runs through Montaigne's life and writings, and he is in this sense as positive as his neighbours. No man

can build his house on shifting sand. Montaigne may in words defy us to find him desperately in earnest, but he fails : for he never doubts his doubts, and he never loses his grip of his ethical standard such as it is. So far at least he is in sober earnest.

We should like sometimes to find this arch-philosopher of practical wisdom in earnest about other things than indifference, and we naturally seek for this quality of earnestness in his views of religion and politics—subjects which call forth the passions of men more than any other. But notwithstanding all that has been said and written on these points, I think we shall find that his whole mental attitude was such as to forbid definite conclusions even on those vital subjects. His Apology for Sebonde does not throw so much light on his religious beliefs as we should desire. If readers are disappointed in their expectations here, they have themselves to blame, for they search for something which his philosophy has beforehand told them not to expect. The fact seems to be that in religion he was strictly conventional, and in politics he was equally conventional. "For Heaven's sake," he would say, "don't disturb the *status quo*; things are bad enough, I grant, but in seeking to make them better you will probably make them worse. Let us go on from day to day, quietly meeting little difficulties as they arise, and making the best both of the good and of the bad. The practical guidance of life—that is our business."

If we prosecute our inquiry after the "earnest"

side of Montaigne's character, we shall find it perhaps most conspicuous in his heartfelt desire to amend the condition of the poor, and in his views on education. It is the latter with which we have to do here ; but of both characteristics I would say that they were the fruit of his positive philosophy. A happy, useful (provided usefulness did not call for too much exertion), practically wise life was his *summum bonum*, and it was this aim that unconsciously determined the substance of his educational theory. In considering then his teaching, we must keep Montaigne's theory of life before our minds. For, education as distinct from instruction is a subject on which no man can possibly write without being more or less consciously controlled in all his utterances by his philosophy of man and of human life.

So much is necessary for the proper understanding of Montaigne on education. But more than this is needed for the proper placing of him in the series of educational writers. We have to understand his historical relations and the circumstances of his life and time, of which receptive men like Montaigne are in a special sense the product and reflection.

Luther died when Montaigne was thirteen years old. It was during the latter period of Luther's life that the Humanistic movement among the leaders of the thought of Europe began to tell, as all great philosophic and political movements inevitably do, sooner or later, tell, upon the education of youth. The reformation of religion was itself only part of the

larger Humanistic movement. For Humanism was simply a rebellion against words and logical forms in the interest of the realities of life and thought. An intellectual movement of this kind could not fail to make itself felt in education as well as in the domain of religious forms and formularies, for it was a philosophical movement, and philosophy ultimately determines all such things. Up to the period of University life, and even beyond it, education consisted in the acquisition of Latin words and rules about Latin, and this in time received the addition of logic with all its scholastic subtleties, and such physics as abridgments of Aristotle could supply. Prior to Montaigne's school-days the intellectual life of the school-boy was, as may be supposed, very wretched, but those who survived it and continued to devote themselves to grammar, rhetoric, and logic, certainly acquired an amount of discipline which could not fail to sharpen their wits. Intensity and subtlety of thought were the natural outcome of the educational system, but accompanied with a restricted range of view and a worship of arid terms and phrases. Luther's educational activity was directed to aid the Humanists in reviving in the school a regard for substance as opposed to form. Pure Latinity, the study of the substance of the great Roman writers, and of rhetoric and logic by the perusal of those great products of literary genius out of which the rules of rhetoric and logic were themselves generalized, began to take the place of mere words and of barbarous Latinity. The

typical schoolmaster of this period was John Sturm, the rector of the High School of Strasbourg, whose course of instruction, severe and mainly linguistic, was yet such as to give genuine culture to all those who were capable of culture. Sturm died in 1589. Already the Humanistic movement in schools had been represented in England by Dean Colet, who died in 1519; and by Roger Ascham, who died in 1568, and was a correspondent of Sturm. Erasmus, the friend of Colet, died in 1536. Montaigne's position is thus clearly defined. Born in 1533, and dying in 1592, he was in the midst of the full tide of the reaction against, what Milton calls, "the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages," "ragged notions and babblements." Bacon's influence had not yet begun.

Montaigne's father, a gentleman of private estate in the province of Guienne, had notions of his own as to the education of the young Michel, and whatever we may think of them, the son thought highly of the method, and all through life retained the profoundest affection and respect for "the best father that ever was." He used to ride in his father's old military cloak, "because," he said, "when I have that on, I seem to wrap myself up in my father." His education, under the paternal roof, was directed morally to the cultivation in him of an intense love of truthfulness and of kindness of feeling and manners towards the poor and dependent. So solicitous was the father to surround his child with every beneficent influence, that he had him roused every morning by the sound of music,

that there might be no violent disturbance of his nervous system. As regards intellectual education, the main object even with Humanists was Latin (and a little Greek), because Latin represented humane letters. Montaigne himself tells us the novel arrangements his father made for initiating him in this language without straining his powers. He gave him a Latin-speaking tutor, and surrounded him with Latin conversation, so that when he was six years old he spoke Latin fluently, much better, indeed, than he could speak his own tongue. The whole household, indeed, became so Latinized that the domestics, and even the peasants on his father's property, began to use Latin words.

Greek was taught by the invention of a game, but it would appear without much success, for Montaigne's knowledge of Greek literature was never much more than he could obtain through a Latin medium.

He was only six years old when he was sent to the College of Guienne at Bordeaux, an institution of mark, in which the Humanistic culture must have reigned supreme, if we may judge from the names of the teachers—William Guerente the Aristotelian, Muretus the classical Latinist and rhetorician, and our own George Buchanan the historian and Latin poet. At college he lost his familiar acquaintance with colloquial Latin, but largely extended his private reading in classical authors ; this, however, only by a breach of school rules in which he was wisely encouraged by

his masters. At the early age of thirteen he had accomplished his college course, and although he afterwards studied law, it cannot be said that he had any special instruction outside his professional reading after he was a boy. Had it not been for the wise connivance of his masters, which enabled him to make acquaintance with the literature of Rome, he would have "brought away from college nothing but a hatred of books, as almost all our young gentlemen do." His father was satisfied with the result of his school life, "for the chief things he expected from the endeavour of those to whom he had delivered me for education was affability of manners and good humour." Montaigne was, to speak the truth, idle and desultory, and he would be the first to admit it. He also complains that he had "a slothful wit that would go no faster than it was led, a languishing invention and an incredible defect of memory, so that it is no wonder," he adds, "if from these nothing considerable could be extracted." He was incapable of sustained effort and of taking much trouble about anything. Nor could it be said that with all the leisure at his command he was ever master of any subject: he had "only nibbled," he himself says, "on the outward crust of sciences, and had a little snatch of everything and nothing of the whole." Even of Latin he was not a master, and Scaliger speaks with contempt of his scholarship; to which, however, Montaigne never made any claim. His innumerable classical allusions and quotations were, however, the

genuine fruit of his own reading ; but he read not as a grammarian or philosopher, but as a man of letters. "I make no doubt," he says, with his usual naïveté, "that I oft happen to speak of things that are much better and more truly handled by those who are masters of the trade." . . . "Whoever will take me tripping in my ignorance will not in any way displease me ; for I should be very unwilling to become responsible to another for my writings, who am not so to myself nor satisfied with them. Whoever goes in quest of knowledge, let him fish for it where it is to be found : there is nothing I so little profess." Again, "I could wish to have a more perfect knowledge of things, but I will not buy it so dear as it will cost. My design is to pass over easily, and not laboriously, the remainder of my life. There is nothing that I will cudgel my brains about ; no, not knowledge of what price soever. . . . I do not bite my nails about the difficulties I meet with in my reading, and after a charge or two I give them over. . . . Continuation and a too obstinate endeavour darken, stupefy, and tire my judgment."

The moral result was more satisfactory. Montaigne's disposition was naturally kindly, and its kindness was further fostered by his father's affectionate upbringing. If ever there was a man distinguished for that "sweet reasonableness" of which we have heard not a little of late, that man was Montaigne. He had the light of culture and also its sweetness.

I have dwelt a little on Montaigne's own education and character, because they have to be taken into consideration along with the circumstances of his time, to which I have already alluded, in forming a true estimate of his educational opinions. The character of the man also is itself to be regarded as, to some extent at least, the fruit of his education, and retrospectively his father's method come up for judgment according to the saying, "By their fruits ye shall know them." It is sufficiently clear that of discipline, intellectual or moral, Montaigne had received none, and that his nature was one that stood in some need of it. The love that his father bore him and the gentleness of his treatment unquestionably nurtured the ingenuous spirit of the son and gave him a freedom of judgment and a fearlessness of intelligence which are among Montaigne's principal charms. His mind was not at any time oppressed with too strong a burden of duty or warped by fear. He grew up into an open-eyed, gentle, bright-souled, and sweet-blooded man, with a sound practical judgment—a wise man, if not a learned one—capable of looking at every side of a question by turns and dallying with each.

But to follow the example of Montaigne's father would not always succeed. He had a man of genius as his child and pupil, and all he did was felicitously adapted to develop the boy's natural endowments. But the system pursued did not cure the pupil's manifest defects of character. Even his natural weakness of memory, so far from being remedied, was probably

increased by the father's lax treatment. Perhaps all the better for the world, it may be said. In this particular case it was so ; but we have not young Montaignes to deal with. We have to *discipline* the intellectual and moral nature of the average boy if we would give energy of will, earnestness of purpose, power of application, and love of truth.

When Montaigne gives us his own views on the education of the young we find them to be very much a reflex of his own experience and character. Let us look at them for a little as they bear on the end of education, on the materials of instruction, on method, on intellectual and moral discipline, and on the penalties whereby the work of the school is usually enforced.

If we were to put in the shortest form Montaigne's idea of the End of education, we should say that it is this : that a man be trained up to the use of his own reason. "A man," he says, "can never be wise save by *his own wisdom*." "If the mind be not better disposed, by education, if the judgment be not better settled, I had much rather my scholar had spent his time at tennis, for at least his body would by that means be in better exercise and breath. Do but observe him when he comes back from school, after fifteen or sixteen years that he has been there : there is nothing so awkward and *maladroit*, so unfit for company and employment ; and all that you shall find he has got is, that his Latin and Greek have only made him a greater and more conceited coxcomb than when he went from

home. He should bring back his soul replete with good literature, and he brings it only swelled and puffed up with vain and empty shreds and snatches of learning, and has really nothing more in him than he had before." It is true that great men and vigorous natures overcome all this and are none the worse; but "it is not enough that our education does not spoil us, it must alter us for the better." It is not enough to tie learning to the soul, but to work and incorporate them together; not to tincture the soul merely, but to give it a thorough and perfect dye; and if it will not take colour and meliorate its imperfect state, it were, without question, better to let it alone." . . . Knowledge will not "find a man eyes; its business is to guide, govern, and direct his steps, provided he *have sound feet and straight legs to go upon.*" Neither Persia nor Sparta made much account of mere knowledge, and Rome was at its greatest in virtue and vigour before schools were much thought of. To train to valour, honesty, prudence, wisdom, justice—these were the aims of the greatest nations. As Agesilaus said when asked "what boys should learn :" " Those things " (he said) " that they ought to do when they become men."

Montaigne, then, would keep in view the end of education from the very first; and that end is to train to right reason and independent judgment, to moderation of mind, and to virtue. The cultivated and capable man of affairs, fit to manage his own business well and discharge public duties wisely, is

his educated man. This is the antique idea of education, and is very much what Quintilian has in view in the training of the "Good Orator." Philosophy is the highest fruit of education—not the philosophy which has logical formulæ for its subject-matter ; but philosophy which has virtue for her end. Virtue and philosophy are not "harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose," but the "enemies of melancholy and the friends of wisdom : they teach us how to know and make use of all good things, and how to part with them without concern." "Philosophy instructs us to live, and infancy has there its lessons as well as other ages." We are not, however, to force to virtue and to philosophy, but to attract by showing that they alone yield happiness, and by leading the pupil to recognize their essential beauty and charm. It may be that there are youths who are inaccessible to all that is noble and beautiful and ingenuous in thought and action, and turn aside by preference to common pleasures. What is to be done with these? "Bind them 'prentice," says Montaigne, "in some good town to learn to make mince pies, though they were the sons of dukes ;" and in a manuscript emendation he recommends that the masters should "strangle such youths *if they can do it without witnesses!*"

What now has Montaigne to say as to the Materials of instruction whereby his end is to be attained? "The most difficult and most important of all human arts is education," he says. The differences among children increase the difficulty ; but the promise of

the future is with young children so uncertain that it is better, so far as the matter of instruction goes, to give to all the elements of knowledge alike. In any case, let us begin when they are young, when the clay is moist and soft.

From the very first, the lessons of philosophy in their simple and practical form can be inculcated. In philosophy Montaigne includes all that we now understand by the religious and moral, and he maintains, and rightly maintains, that a child's mind is more open to all such lessons than to reading and writing. In selecting other materials of instruction we must bear in mind that a child "owes but the first fifteen or sixteen years of his life to discipline, and the rest to action. Let us therefore employ that time in *necessary* instruction." At every stage that which constitutes the ultimate aim of education is to appear in some form or other—philosophy, namely, which forms the judgment and conduct. This has a hand in everything. "She is always in place, and is to be admitted to all sports and entertainments because of the sweetness of her conversation. By guiding conduct, as well as by discourse in season, this instruction is to be given and habits thus formed."

Montaigne is generally classed by educational writers as a realist—as the very founder of realism. Those who so write, write without understanding. Educational realism in our modern sense means the substitution of a knowledge of nature and of the practical *work* of after life for the study of language

and literature and all that we include in the Humanities. Those who advocate the latter are Humanists, and are the true descendants of the Humanists of the Renaissance. All educationalists, however, (except, perhaps, the majority of schoolmasters), are realists in this sense—Montaigne's sense—that they desire to see reality, that is, to see the substance of fact or thought in the education of youth. Montaigne's realism opposed itself merely to verbalism, and he fought a good fight in this. But all this belongs to the past, in the region of educational theory at least. We all now seek reality ; we are all opposed to verbalism. The difference now consists in this, that one school of philosophy holds by language and literature as introducing youth to the highest and best realities—the realities of feeling and thought if properly handled : the other school holds by facts, the facts of nature and of man's triumphs over nature as yielding the highest and best realities for educational purposes. If we may make a distinction between the real Humanistic and the verbal Humanistic, there can be no doubt that Montaigne belonged to the former class, and not to the utilitarian realists of whom Mr. Spencer and Professor Bain are the best contemporary types.

Ethical training, then, in the broadest sense is the main purpose of education according to Montaigne. Virtue and wisdom sum him up. The ordinary subjects of reading, writing, and casting accounts are of course to be taught. After this, whatever you teach, avoid words simply as words. Most modern Human-

ists would not go so far as Montaigne certainly in their opposition to words. They see more in them. But we must bear in mind the state of things at the time Montaigne wrote. The Humanistic revival, which was a revival in the interests of realities, was also a revival of style ; and the tendency was to give prominence to art in language. This must always be the case : teachers in their daily work cannot consistently maintain from hour to hour the reality of any subject, be it language, literature, or science. The tendency inevitably is to fall back upon mechanical expedients, on the learning of rules, and on symbolism generally. It is so even with religion and morality. To the end of time, the task of the true teacher who desires truly to educate will be a struggle against the dominion of words and forms, and this quite irrespectively of the subjects he may choose to make the basis of his school-work. The virtues of the educational profession are all summed up in the words—life, reality ; but, like other virtues, they are not always easily practised.

“The world,” says Montaigne, “is nothing but babble.... We are kept four or five years to learn nothing but words and to tack them together into clauses ; as many more to make exercises, and to divide a continued discourse into so many parts ; and other five years, at least, to learn succinctly to mix and interweave them after a subtle and intricate manner. Let us leave this to the learned professors !” Words, grammar, style, or rhetoric in the larger sense

as embracing all these, constituted the main end of school and college instruction in those days, and this was supplemented by logic. Montaigne held that if a man had really anything to say he could manage to say it without all this training. "Let the pupil be well furnished with things," (*i.e.* thoughts) he says, "words will follow but too fast." People who pretend to have great thoughts which they cannot express are deceiving themselves; they are not labouring to bring forth, but merely "licking the formless embryo" of their minds. If a man has any clear conceptions he will express them well enough though ignorant of "ablative, conjunctive, substantive, and grammar." "When things are once formed in the fancy, words offer themselves in muster. *Ipsæ res verba rapiunt;*" says Cicero. "The fine flourishes of rhetoric serve only to amuse the vulgar, who are incapable of more solid and nutritive diet." The attack on mere rhetoric in the sense of style is keen and incisive and has not a little truth in it. "Words are to serve and to follow a man's purpose." He quotes Plato as approving of fecundity of conception rather than of fertility of speech, and Zeno as dividing his pupils into two classes, the philologi, who loved things and reasonings, and logophili, who cared for nothing but words. "I am scandalized," he says, "that our whole life should be spent in nothing else."

What would he have then in addition to the usual elements of education, and the teaching of philosophy and of virtue? He would have a man learn thoroughly

his own language first, and then that of his neighbour, regarding Greek and Latin as ornamental merely. Little, however, did Montaigne think that instruction, even in our own language, could degenerate into what it has become in these latter days—verbalism of a kind much more offensive than any to be found in classical teaching. He could not foresee detailed analysis of sentences, and the dreary pedantry of school grammars of our native tongue! Pedagogic ingenuity had not yet invented such arid substitutes for the substance of our mother-speech—arch-enemies of true Humanistic culture—the logical babblement of the primary school. Truly teachers have an “infinite capacity for sinking.”

Vernacular and modern languages once secured, Montaigne would thereafter limit the course of study “to those things only where a true and real utility and advantage are to be expected and found. To teach a boy astronomy, for example, instead of what will make him wise and good, is absurd. After you have done *this last*, the pupil may be admitted to the elements of geometry, rhetoric, logic, and physics; and then the science which his judgment most affects, he will generally make his own.” But we must above all teach him “what it is to know and what to be ignorant, what valour is, and temperance and justice; the difference between ambition and avarice, servitude and subjection, license and liberty; in brief, season his understanding with that which regulates his manners and his sense, that which teaches him to

know himself, and how both well to die and well to live. Over and above this, let us make a selection of those subjects which directly and professedly serve for the "instruction and use of life." But the direct instruction of the master is not all. "Human understanding is marvellously enlightened by daily conversation with men, for we are otherwise of ourselves so stupid as to have our sight limited to the end of our own noses. One asking Socrates of what country he was, he did not make answer, 'of Athens,' but 'of the world.'" We must learn to measure ourselves aright : "whosoever shall represent to his fancy, as in a picture, that great image of our mother nature pourtrayed in her full majesty and lustre, whoever in her face shall read her so universal and constant variety, whoever shall observe himself and not only himself but a whole kingdom no bigger than the least touch or prick of a pencil in comparison with the whole,—that man alone is able to value things according to their true estimate and grandeur." The great world is the mirror wherein we are to behold ourselves, to be able to know ourselves as we ought to do. History naturally suggests itself in this connection as a leading subject of study, for "thereby we converse with those great and heroic souls of former and better ages"—an empty and an idle study as commonly conducted, but of "inestimable fruit and value" when prosecuted with care and observation.

Meanwhile the body is not to be forgotten, for, not to speak of the moral instruction which may be

conveyed in connection with leaping and riding and wrestling, etc., we have to form the youth's outward fashion and mien at the same time as his mind: for "tis not a soul, 'tis not a body we are training only, but a man, and we ought not to divide him." And, as Plato says, "we are not to fashion one without the other, but make them draw together like two horses harnessed to a coach." "It is not enough to fortify the soul: you are also to make the sinews strong, for the soul will be oppressed if not assisted by the bodily members, and would have too hard a task to discharge two offices at once." Effeminacy in food or clothes or habits is also to be eschewed.

So much for the end of education according to Montaigne, and the materials of instruction whereby that end is to be attained. Montaigne's public school, if he had to construct one in these days, would certainly be somewhat after the fashion of a German Real school, and, so far, he is rightly named a realist. But the leading purpose of all his instruction would essentially be ethical and humanistic. The only respect in which his curriculum would be realistic in the utilitarian meaning would be in the subordinate place assigned to Latin and Greek. So far is he from being a realist in the modern sense, that he may be rather set down as an enemy of mere knowledge or information. "The cares and expense our parents are at in our education, point at nothing save to fill our heads with knowledge," he says, "but not a word of judgment or virtue. We toil and labour to stuff the

memory, and in the meantime leave the conscience and the understanding unfurnished—void."

It has to be noted that Montaigne, and after him Milton and Locke, think only of the education of the few and not of the many—of the sons of gentlemen only: but while the *extent* to which school instruction goes depends for the most part on the social position of the parent, the principles which regulate a prolonged education are equally operative in the briefest, if they are worth anything at all as principles.

Of equal importance with end and means is method. On this Montaigne has less to say, but what he says contains probably the germs of the most important principles of all method.

"'Tis the custom of schoolmasters to be eternally thundering in their pupils' ears as if they were pouring into a funnel, whilst the business of the pupil is simply to repeat what the teacher has before said. I would have a tutor correct this error, and at the very first he should, according to the capacity he has to deal with, put it to the test, permitting his pupil himself to taste and relish things and of himself to choose and discern them, sometimes opening the way to him and sometimes making him break the ice himself; that is to say, I would not have him alone to invent and speak, but also hear his pupil invent and speak in his turn. Socrates, and since him Arcesilaus, made *first* their scholars speak and then they spoke to them. The authority of those who teach is very often an impediment to those who desire to learn. It is good

to make the pupil, like a young horse, trot before the master, that he may judge of his going and how much he, the master, is to abate of his own speed to accommodate himself to the vigour and capacity of his pupil. For want of this due proportion we spoil all: to know how to adjust this and to keep within an exact and due measure is one of the hardest things I know; and it is an effect of a judicious and well-tempered soul to know how to condescend to the boy's puerile movements and to govern and direct them. Those who, according to our common way of teaching, undertake with one and the same lesson and the same measure of direction to instruct several boys of differing and unequal capacities, are infinitely mistaken in their method; and at this rate it is no wonder if, in a multitude of scholars, there are not found above two or three who bring away any good account of their time and discipline." Here we have the foreshadowing of the organization of instruction and the classification of pupils. The importance of examination as a part of good method is also insisted on. "Let the master," he says, "not only examine him about the grammatical construction of the bare words of the lesson, but about the sense and meaning of them; and let him judge of the profit he has made, not by the testimony of his memory, but of his understanding. Let him make the pupil put what he hath learned into a hundred several forms, and accommodate it to many subjects to see if he yet rightly comprehend it and have made it his own, taking

instruction in his progress from the ‘Institutions of Plato.’” “‘Tis a sign of crudity and indigestion,” he says, “to vomit up what we eat in the same condition it was swallowed down, and the stomach has not performed its office unless it have altered the form and condition of what was committed to it to concoct.” “What is the good of having the stomach full of meat if it do not nourish us?” Here we have what used to be called the “Intellectual method” anticipated, the importance of assimilation enforced, and the distinguishing characteristic of cram well exposed. Montaigne further, in opposition to theories of education still current, advises that the pupil be made to sift and examine for himself, and to accept nothing on mere authority. “We can say, Cicero says thus: that these were the manners of Plato: that these again are the very words of Aristotle: but what do we say *ourselves* that is our *own*? What do *we* do? What do *we* judge? A parrot would say as much.”

So much for the method of intellectual instruction. The method of moral teaching is summed up in the words that it should “insensibly insinuate” itself in so far as it is direct, as lessons do which are not set and formal, but suggested by time and place.

Of intellectual and moral discipline, in the true sense of these terms, we find in Montaigne nothing. Nor does religion, in any true sense, enter into his scheme of education. And when we have said this we convict him of having left unwritten the two chief chapters in any educational theory. These grave

omissions the character and upbringing of the man would lead us to expect, and we must not quarrel with what we have, because it falls short of all our demands.

With respect to Discipline, in the vulgar school sense—that is to say, the means taken to force boys to do what their masters want them to do—Montaigne takes up a position substantially the same as that of the greater number of eminent writers on education. He is persuaded that, by following a good method, instruction will become pleasant, and that it will not be difficult to allure the pupil to both wisdom and virtue. “If you do not allure the appetite and affection,” he says, “you make nothing but asses laden with books, and, by virtue of the lash, give them their pocket full of learning to keep ; whereas, to do well, you should not merely lodge it with them, but make them to espouse it.” Physical punishment fails of its aim, and *must fail* by the nature of the case. If it be necessary at any time to punish a child, it should be done when we are calm. “No one,” he says, “would hesitate to punish a judge with death who should have condemned a prisoner in a fit of passion. Why is it allowed any more to parents and masters to beat and strike children in their anger ? That is not correction : it is revenge. Chastisement stands to children in the place of medicine ; and should we endure a physician who was angry and violent with his patient ?” “Education,” he says elsewhere, “should be carried on with a severe sweetness, quite

contrary to the practice of our pedants, who, instead of tempting and alluring children to letters by apt and gentle ways, do, in truth, present nothing before them but rods and ferules, horror and cruelty. Away with this violence ! away with this compulsion ! than which nothing, I certainly believe, more dulls and degenerates a well-descended nature. If you would have the pupil alive to shame and chastisement, do not harden him to them. . . . The strict government of most of our colleges has even more displeased me ; and peradventure they might have erred less perniciously on the indulgent side. The school is the true house of correction of imprisoned youth. . . . Do but come in, when they are about their lesson, and you shall hear nothing but the outcries of boys under execution, with the thundering noise of their pedagogues, drunk with fury, to make up the concert. A very pretty way this to tempt these tender and timorous souls to love their book—with a furious countenance and a rod in hand ! A cursed and pernicious way of proceeding ! . . . How much more decent would it be to see their classes strewn with green leaves and fine flowers, than with the bloody stumps of birch and willows ! Were it left to my ordering, I would paint the school with the pictures of Joy and Gladness, Flora and the Graces, that where the profit of the pupils is, there might their pleasure also be."

We are all of Montaigne's opinion nowadays ; for he did not forbid punishment or coercion, in some

form or other, when all other means failed. *Extrema in extremis.* He merely protested against the scholastic tyranny of his time—a tyranny still existing, and till lately prevalent. Slave-driver and schoolmaster were almost convertible terms. The school and the rod were ideas of inseparable association. Samuel Butler calls “whipping”

“Virtue’s governess,
Tutorress of arts and sciences.”

“Oh ! ye ” (says Byron) “ who teach the ingenuous youth of nations,
Holland, France, England, Germany, and Spain,
I pray ye flog them upon all occasions,
It mends the morals ; never mind the pain.”

Thomas Hood, in looking back on his school-days, has before his mind chiefly the place where he was birched ; and yet his pleasant humour can call up some regret :—

“ Ay, though the very birch’s smart
Should mark those hours again,
I’d kiss the rod, and be resigned
Beneath the stroke and even find
Some sugar in the cane.”

The subject, however, is too serious for a jest. Before Montaigne’s day, and long after it, the brutality of schoolmasters was such as to leave an almost indelible stain on the profession for all time. The whole body should make an annual pilgrimage of penitence for the sins of their predecessors. Schoolmasters are now beginning to understand that it is only by balanced temper and by sound method that they can dispense with physical motives, and out of

the more or less contemptible "dominie" of the past, evolve the educator of the future. In no other way certainly can they make good their claim to that social position which they, often too morbidly, claim. A mere *castigator puerorum* has no claim to anything save his wages, which should be the minimum for which he can be hired.

Montaigne's educational views were defective certainly, though in substance and in their main purpose sound. The defects, as before observed, may be traced to his own upbringing and character. Everything with him is too easy. Wisdom's ways, alas ! are *not* always ways of pleasantness, nor are her paths always those of peace. The charming way of life of Montaigne is for a few fortunate souls only. We have to train our boys to work hard, to will vigorously, to be much in earnest, to have a high sense of duty. Such qualities do not come by wishing. By intellectual and moral discipline, by doing what may be disagreeable, by obedience, by enforcement of law, we have to mould our British boy. For all this kind of work Montaigne has little to teach us ; but we can learn much from him, and we part from the wise and kindly Frenchman with gratitude, and even affection.

ON THE EDUCATIONAL WANTS OF
SCOTLAND.

ON THE EDUCATIONAL WANTS OF SCOTLAND.*

IT is not inappropriate to the object of this Chair-foundation to take a survey from time to time of the educational field, by way of introduction to the severer work of the session. And yet I would not do so did I not find that such a survey affords an opportunity of giving you, indirectly, some slight indications of the nature and purposes of all educational machinery, and inducing you to look at them in the light of principles and of national aims.

I have chosen, on this occasion, as my text, "The Educational Wants of Scotland." It would have been a much more pleasant task to review the educational advance of the past thirty years; and if I do not do this, it is not because I am not alive to the progress we have made. After all has been said that can be said by way of unfavourable criticism, the educational system of Scotland is, when regarded as a whole, and properly understood in its relations to the peculiar genius of the nation, second only to the best.

* Introductory Lecture to the University Session of 1881-2.

Of the staff of teachers my impression is that it would be vain to look for a body of men in any profession or in any country who understand their duty better, and do it, on the whole, more faithfully. But, while all this is true, we have not yet reached the point in our journey when we are entitled to "rest and be thankful." There is much still to be done; and I wish to point out here, and now, though in a somewhat summary fashion, the work that is still before us, and indeed urgent, if we are to continue to hold our own. Within the last two or three years we have seen a scheme of Secondary Education and a Royal University inaugurated in Ireland (both on a most vicious system certainly); Victoria University instituted in the north of England; the Mason Science College founded in Birmingham; a Holloway College for Girls in Surrey; Colleges for science set agoing in Leeds, Nottingham, Newcastle, Hull, Liverpool, and Bristol; and large reforms initiated in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Against all this we have to set only the College of Science and Art in Glasgow, and the Baxter foundation in Dundee, proclaiming to the world, the while, our inability even to pass a Bill for the reform of our existing endowments, and our illiberal reluctance to take advantage of the Act of 1878, which is the new charter of our high schools. It becomes our duty, accordingly, to look our defects in the face, and to ascertain what we still need for the completion of our educational machinery. I do not propose here to speak, except indirectly, of

internal reforms or of the vexed question of "studies," but only of external organization.

I. And, first, of the Universities which stand at the head of our national system :

The ideas which govern all attempts at the reform of Universities in Scotland are—

1st. That they should cease to be secondary schools in their classical and mathematical departments, the work of secondary instruction being done elsewhere. If this reform is to be introduced, entrance examinations for those who come to the Universities with a view to graduation are indispensable. Better than these, doubtless, would be school-leaving examinations ; but for their introduction we must wait till our high school system is more developed. We ask for entrance examinations simply because, as Mr. Mark Pattison has said, "the standard of teaching is ruled by the standard already attained by the taught."

2nd. The second idea is, that the Universities should be great schools for the advancement of science and the fostering of scientific genius. By science I do not of course mean physical science alone, but every department of human knowledge which is capable of development and co-ordination in relation to ultimate principles. Professor Clifford says that "the domain of science is all possible human knowledge which can be rightly used to guide human conduct ;" but however this may be, certainly no department of human knowledge is worthy of a place

in an University until it fulfils the condition above indicated by me.

3rd. The third idea is, that the Universities should complete their relation to the professions. The practical character of our nation, and the needs of society, demand of the Universities the production of men who shall practise the professional arts with a University guarantee of fitness. In their relation to human wants and wellbeing, theology, law, politics, education, and æsthetics are arts no less than medicine. Besides these, we have the arts that bear on industries, which may, for general purposes, be classed as technical. Such, for example, are the mechanical arts, including engineering and the agricultural art; not to speak of the less important arts of dyeing, weaving, building, etc. A practical race like the British is apt to lose sight of the purely scientific and professional aim of Universities, and, by demanding from them technicalists in every department, to forget their true theory and function. The extent to which they may be expected to turn out skilled guides of the various industries is, indeed, one which it is difficult theoretically to determine. We may safely say, however, that the term "professional" indicates very fairly the limit of University action. We must beware of converting our Universities into mere technical colleges.

4th. There is still another art with which the Universities stand in close relation, and which is the highest of all arts—the art, not of gaining a livelihood

in the service of society, but the art of living. This is taught through philosophy, history, literature, and æsthetics. This, the last and greatest of the arts—*ars vivendi*—requires no special adaptation of University machinery; for it is taught through knowledge, through thought, through habitual converse with humane letters. This art of rational living is summed up in the word “culture,” to which the physical sciences may make important contributions, but which they can never of themselves effect. It is by thought on things human that the mind of man is cultured; thought on the things of sense, in the form of physical science, being never more than subsidiary and contributory to true culture. To those who pursue physical knowledge, or indeed any department of study, to the exclusion of the culture which philosophy and literature alone can give, we may fitly apply the words of Seneca : “*De partibus vitæ quisque deliberat, de summa nemo.*” But along with this thought on things human, there must be evoked the power, if not of expressing thought artistically, at least of enjoying its artistic expression in language and in the plastic arts. Not knowledge itself then, but thought and æsthetic perception, are the essential conditions of culture. This culture, or art of rational living, is the highest aim of University life. It is promoted chiefly through the philosophical faculty, within which are included philosophy in its widest acceptation, economics, jurisprudence, history, literature, æsthetics, and, let me add, the principles of education, which is simply the expo-

sition of the way in which a human soul grows to the full fruition of its powers. The true character and far-reaching influence of humane studies is apt in these days to be lost sight of ; but without derogating from the legitimate claims of the physical sciences, the words of the great Humanist, John Sturm, are, and ever will be, true : " Nihil enim est in natura rerum quod ita mores erudiat ut literarum studia ; nihil tam in omnes partes fusas utilitates habet quam humanitas atque doctrina." *

If, now, we keep in view these the governing ideas of University life, we begin at once to appreciate the importance of such apparently small things as entrance examinations,† the proper endowment of existing chairs, and the foundation of additional chairs to complete the encyclopædia of human knowledge. The encouragement of special studies by means of tutor-fellowships is also seen to be essential, if we are to promote schools of science and learning by attaching to our Universities original investigators—men competent to hand on the torch of truth—in every department. But it is not necessary that fellowships

* De Literarum Iudis rectè aperiendis.

† It has been proposed to meet the demand for entrance examinations by excluding from Universities all below the age of sixteen, while receiving all above this age, however ignorant. This specious proposal misses the whole point. There is no objection to even ten thousand students in a University, if there be teaching power enough. The educational question is, What attainments shall be required before a student begins to count an *annus academicus* for graduation? A very simple question, and very easy to answer. Nobody is excluded from a University by a "first examination" for a degree. Surely, we must begin somewhere.

be numerous ; it is far more to the purpose to found permanent positions of emolument (not of great emolument, for wealth in a professoriate is a great evil) for the benefit of those who have already given proofs of capacity and intellectual ardour. These fellowships should be elective. Need I add that a power of selecting the subjects that are to qualify for University degrees and honours, is a logical consequence of a true theory of an University ? Schools of science and learning, every one must admit, are not possible when men are weighted with many diverse studies. Shallowness is the inevitable result, and the true scientific spirit has not time to generate itself. Nor is shallowness less incompatible with true culture : a wider range of subjects for graduation is a necessary and urgently called for reform, because of the unquestioned and unquestionable fact that, after a certain age, intellectual movement, to be truly cultivating, must be *free* ; and it can be free only when it works in a congenial direction. A youth, for example, who, from whatever subtle causes, has an aversion to mathematical studies, merely wastes his time in attempting to meet University requirements in that department of work. By continuing the present close system we run counter to the laws of nature in slavish subservience to a bad habit which has no rational justification. Education must respect individualities at every stage. The educator is not a drill-sergeant, nor yet a tailor. Most of all must individualities and mental bias be respected at that adolescent stage at

which the free spirit of man most asserts itself, and when it can live only by freedom—all else being life in death. True, it would be a difficult matter to construct theoretically a better Arts curriculum than the present, were all minds alike ; but all minds are not alike. Our business is, subject to certain general restrictive conditions, to allow each student to select his group of studies for himself, in the firm persuasion that a mind can truly know only when it truly lives ; and that it can truly live only when it is free.

To accomplish this and other reforms, such as a strengthening of the examining and tutorial elements in our system, we need an Executive Commission. It is not desirable to increase examinations : on the contrary, it is desirable to diminish them, but more power is wanted for the proper conducting of those that exist. To expect from the British Treasury such a sum as would accomplish all that sanguine reformers desire, especially in the founding of new chairs, would be vain ; but very much could be done, and seed sown for the future, by the State offering a public endowment to the extent of one half the necessary sum for every subject approved of by the University itself, as soon as private munificence had contributed the other moiety. The cost of immediate reform would be small, and were this the place to do so, it could be shown that the necessary outlay for placing all the Scottish Universities on a proper footing would not exceed £6000 a year in addition to the maintenance of the buildings.

II. The next educational want of Scotland that presses for attention is that of High Schools. There are not more than four or five schools in Scotland under public control which can be assigned a position as high schools of the first class, if we look to their staff, emoluments, and organization. This is a national disgrace. We should have at least nine such schools in Scotland, and about forty high schools of the second class.. I have shown on a previous occasion where these should be placed, and in the majority of cases it will be found that there already exists a nucleus or skeleton in the shape of some old foundation, and that the work of completion is by no means so difficult as some suppose. Lord Watson's Act of 1878 gave powers to school boards to rate for the support of high schools; but they do not do so, either because the boards generally (whatever may be said of individuals among them) are not competent to rise to an adequate conception of the educational needs of the country, or are afraid to impose the necessary tax. We should have at least fifty public high schools, with an adequate staff, superintended by rectors with salaries from £500 to £900 a year. Experience has demonstrated that to accomplish this some organizing authority is needed. That authority—call it board or commission—might be a permanent part of the Home Office working in Scotland, and might discharge other duties in connection with primary schools and training colleges; subject of course, in this last relation, to the

Education Department. We do not want, because we do not need, centralized control, and consequently we must forego grants for so-called "results," which would quickly convert our high schools into mere coaching establishments, and our teachers into crammers. But there is no good reason why a Treasury grant of £20,000 a year or so should not be assigned to a permanent organizing commission to be applied in stimulating the high school rate and the intelligent application of available endowments. For the administration of this a Scottish Educational Council could surely be trusted, merely reporting its proceedings to Parliament annually. There would be no adequate ground for centralization at Whitehall. Mr. Gladstone has told us that we need a distribution of the legislative powers of Parliament; it is of equal importance, in the interests of decentralization and of nationality, that we should have a distribution of *administrative* power. The deadening influence of bureaucracy, it seems to me, must be far more hurtful in its effects on national character than imperial legislation can possibly be. Ireland manages for itself its primary and secondary, as well as its University education, but Scotland is held to be incompetent to administer education for itself, even under the controlling hand of London! The uniformity which officialism loves is at the bottom of this. There is a vague idea abroad that what is best for one is best for all, and that Perthshire and Berkshire should turn out precisely the same product from the Government mill.

There is greater danger to society in this uniformity of type than we at present see.

There are two great obstacles in the way of a secondary system. The first is the action—or, if you please, inaction—of the Universities, to which reference has already been made ; and the second is the existing endowments. There exists a popular delusion that secondary education in Scotland will somehow be settled by a reform of the endowments. People forget that the endowments, which remain to be dealt with, are situated chiefly in the two large towns of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and that reform can only extend to the improvement of what already exists. No statesman would venture to propose to take from one locality to give to another, or to transfer money from the artisan to the middle class. The endowed institutions must be reformed *in loco*. When they are reformed, Scotland will have a sufficient number of public secondary schools in country districts ; and Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and (thanks to local munificence) Dundee will all be fully equipped. But the smaller burghs will stand very much where they are. And yet it is impossible to act in the face of a popular delusion, and the “ Association for promoting Secondary Education in Scotland,” which has already done something, must suspend operations till this endowed schools business is settled.

And why is it not settled ? Because the Heriot governors, or at least those who have been allowed to represent them, have been conjuring with a phrase of

great potency—viz., “popular representation.” They fallaciously reason that wherever town councillors have been appointed trustees—even at a time when town councils did not represent the people—they were so appointed with a view to their administering trusts in accordance with the will of the people, as expressed at the ballot-box annually. This, I need hardly say, is entirely to misapprehend the purposes both of trusts and trusters. The Glasgow town council, for example, among other money, holds £10,000 given by Dr. A. Bell, for elementary education. Every one who knows anything about Dr. Bell and his educational activity, knows that the State has taken up his work in the primary field, and done it so effectually, that he would never have dreamt of making this bequest in present circumstances. The best application of the money now would be to carry out one of Bell’s great objects, the training of the teacher. He left a little for lectures on education : he would have left much more in these days ; and how could the now useless money be better expended than in founding, in the interests of the great body of the people, a Chair of the Institutes and History of Education in Glasgow ? Are the Glasgow town councillors to ask the £4 householders how they are now to apply the bequest ? Would Dr. Bell, the highest of Tories, as well as the most ardent of educationalists, have done so ? So far as my observation extends, the artisan, or, if you please, the trade-union class, is as fair and just in its

judgments as other classes. But what they believe to be their private interests have, it seems to me, misled them on this question of trusts. Still, politicians have to recognize existing facts, and there can be no doubt that popular representation has long existed in connection with the administration of the Heriot trust, and the Government were consequently quite right when they resolved in their Bill of last year to protect it to an "adequate extent" in all future provisional orders. The Heriot Provisional Order is in itself an admirable one, and if the question of the governing body blocks the way, I do not see why the Government should not go even further than they have done, and direct that, wherever administrative bodies are now popularly elected, care shall be taken, in revising existing constitutions, that all those at present interested shall be adequately represented. That is to say, turn the clause in the Bill round so as to admit other elements into 'the governing bodies, while providing that the chief power, to the extent, say, of three-fifths, shall remain where it now is. Such a clause would be best carried into effect in Heriot's, by making the town council elect one-half of the governors ; by leaving a representation of the present clerical element ; by putting on two or three to represent the University, which has a beneficiary interest ; the Merchant Company, which properly represents the higher class of old burgesses ; and the School Board, which is the guardian of primary instruction. To propose, as a certainly highly

respected "ex-M.P." does, that all governing bodies whatsoever should be to some extent popularly elected, is a revolutionary suggestion—the offspring of democratic fanaticism, and will be accepted by no British Government. Here again we have a total misconception of the purpose and nature of trusts, as well as of the principles of reform. There is, in truth, no reason why any trust should be altered at all, so long as its present constitution is suited to the accurate interpretation and efficient carrying out of the truster's will; and by the will I mean the letter of the will, except in so far as the letter, owing to change of circumstances, defeats the spirit. To meddle in such cases would be an intolerable and tyrannical act, unless indeed the trustees themselves desired it. If an existing trust is not doing its duty, then the "ex-M.P." is probably right in thinking that there should be an infusion of new blood, and this largely of a popular kind, by secondary or indirect election.

In connection with the Endowed Schools discussion, the evils of free education have been much exaggerated. Is there a single professor in the University, or a single member in the House of Lords, who has not benefited by education wholly or partially free? The only thing we have to look to is that the dispensation of such benefits should be discriminating and just, and that those really get the benefit who most truly need it. I confess I cannot see that any man is disgraced by asking the Heriot

governors to educate his child, if he can show an inability to do so himself.*

Of technical schools as a department of secondary instruction I shall here, for want of space, say little beyond pointing out that we must beware of confounding real schools with technical schools or colleges. A technical school or college exists for the mere purpose of instructing those whose lives are to be devoted to the various industries by which a nation lives, in the scientific principles of those industries ; and this with or without the help of model workshops. The pupils who attend such institutions are not required to take a complete curriculum : to demand this would be to demand an impossibility. Each studies his own branch or group. The class of society which can alone take advantage of such institutions would be, to a small extent the sons of manufacturing capitalists, but chiefly the more intelligent and aspiring of the working men. It is manifest, therefore, that they must be night-schools, attended mainly by apprentices. There does not exist in the country material for *day* technical schools, in the strict sense of the word, save

* As to apprentice allowances. These are dead and gone ; but it would be a perversion of a trust not to put some allowances in their place in the case of fatherless children.

Then, circumstances have arisen which make it highly desirable that all mortifications, up to the passing of the Education Act of 1872, should be included in the Commissioners' survey.

In any case it is of pressing urgency that this endowed schools question should be cleared out of the way, in order that operations in connection with the secondary education of Scotland may be vigorously undertaken.

perhaps in very large centres of industry, such as Manchester or Glasgow. We must not lose sight of this fact if we are to secure ourselves against disappointment. However important technical schools may be, it is a pure delusion to imagine that the British artisan and British industrial art will ever benefit so much through them as through the cultivation of the intelligence of all alike in the primary and superior-primary schools. I cannot but think, too, that the industrial, like the intellectual, activity of a country is more dependent on the moral spirit of the nation than on any special instruction. In every department of human life the most potent motive forces are ethical—always ethical. However this may be, technical schools may be allowed to take care of themselves. They have so direct a bearing on material interests that they are sure to receive sufficient attention. The ordinary business intellect is capable of comprehending the want, and the business pocket is well capable of supplying it.

It is otherwise with the *Real School*. This is a rival of the old type of high school, and draws its pupils from the same classes. There is here a conflict of two theories of education—the old and the new. The antagonism between the two, however, has been much exaggerated. In Scotland at this moment every secondary school which adds the elements of mechanics and physiography to its present curriculum, makes Greek an optional subject to be prosecuted by the few, and gives additional attention to foreign

languages, becomes a *real* school in the German sense. The aim is not to make specialists—this is the work of the *technical* school;—it is to educate men, simply substituting for Greek the modern languages and some scientific instruction in the later stages of the school curriculum ; that is to say, when the boys are from fifteen to seventeen years of age. In this sense the high schools of Scotland already closely approximate to real schools. There is no need to waste public money in setting up rival institutions to the high schools at present existing. Make Greek optional, and the rest follows. The key of the position, however, is here again in the hands of the Universities. As soon as they substitute French and German optionally for Greek, and demand elementary physics and English in their entrance examinations, the schools will take the hint.

As regards Universities, this University of Edinburgh is already to a large extent, a real University. It has adapted itself to the wants of the times in all essential respects, save in the terms on which its Arts degree may be taken, and its entrance examinations,—which last, let me repeat, govern the schools.

It is vain to look for a commission on secondary education at present, but many valuable years might be saved were either of the proposed Executive Commissions instructed to inquire into the operation of the Act of 1878, and to report on the existing number of high schools, and the localities where additional

high schools should be placed. Attention might also be given to existing and possible sources of revenue. The high school question is, be it remembered, much more easy of solution in Scotland than in England or Wales, because we not only already have the rudiments of a system, but an Act empowering boards to rate.

III. Let us consider, next, primary or "public elementary" schools and their wants. Imperial taxation, apart from rates and fees, gives £455,000 a year to these institutions, and yet I believe that £6000 a year to Universities and £20,000 to high schools could be extracted from the House of Commons only after a bitter struggle, our legislators forgetting that it is precisely this higher education which, by its mere existence, maintains the standard of culture and the tone of life in a nation, and thus indirectly does as much, by its intellectual and moral influence, for primary education as the Education Department and all its complex machinery. Since the Education Act of 1872 was passed, primary instruction has ceased to be a legislative, and become merely an administrative, question. It is, in brief, a question of the Code, and here the want of Scotland still is an *Educational*, as distinguished from an Education, Code.

After much agitation, the administration of the Parliamentary grant was remitted to the last Endowed Schools' Commission, and their report last

year entirely confirmed, in almost every particular, the allegations of the agitators, and confirmed their recommendations. We were consequently looking anxiously for a new Code on the basis of these recommendations, when all we received was proposals for the revision of the *English* Code! If this be intended as a graceful compliment to Scotland, the Department being desirous to make an *experimentum in corpore vili* of England before touching our historic soil, we may be flattered into acquiescence. If it be meant as an indication that, while the Department find it necessary to expose to criticism its intentions with regard to England, the changes to be made in Scotland may be sprung on it suddenly, without warning, we cannot be expected to regard the action of the Department with the same equanimity. When we say that what we now want is an *Educational* Code, we mean a Code constructed with a view to the education of the masses of the people, and not merely to those outside forms and instruments of education which admit of easy measurement and tabulation. We want the substantial instruction, the intelligence, the tone, the morality of the school to form the basis of the inspectorial judgment—all other things being attended to, doubtless, but as secondary and subsidiary to these. Now, for the ascertainment of the genuine educational outcome of a school there is no other way but to trust the inspectors, and this, again, is justifiable only if we first train the inspectors and organize the inspectorate under chiefs, having

at head-quarters a controller of inspection who shall harmonize all. Long ago I put forward this view. Is it not an anomaly that teachers should be required to study methods and school-keeping, and inspectors be allowed to take their chance of finding out all about these things? Do we ask too much when we ask that youthful inspectors-designate should be required to study a subject which has engaged the best powers of Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, Cicero, Varro, Quintilian, Erasmus, Sturm, Ascham, Comenius, Locke, Jean Paul, Kant, Rousseau, and of every great constructive statesman? But, ah! here lies the danger. Our inspectors might begin to think and have ideas, and the teachers might follow their example. The bureaucrat, like imperial Cæsar, fears this.

“ Let me have men about me that are fat ;
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o’ nights :
Yond’ Cassius has a lean and hungry look ;
He thinks too much : such men are dangerous.”

Then again, why should not our future inspectors-designate be required to “ stoop to conquer,” and spend six months teaching in some model school, and thereafter three months in being coached by a senior in the practical work of their inspectorial profession? They ought to be the guides, the lights, the friends of the teacher; and to be all this they need much professional knowledge and some educational enthusiasm. They must be one body with the schoolmasters, they must love the schoolmaster’s work, the little children who are the objects of it, and the faithful men who,

among many discouragements, spend their days in the service of the young. So equipped for their task, and aided by organization, the inspectors may surely be safely trusted. Mr. Mundella, in introducing the English "proposals," pointed to the organization of the inspectorate, but said nothing of training.

Of the "proposals," themselves, we gladly recognize that they are, as Mr. Mundella says, an honest effort to give effect to educational principles, and that many of them do so. In some respects, however, they impress me with being constructed from the outside, and after a somewhat patchwork fashion. They seem to be often devised to meet the *suggestions* of this person, and the *objections* of that. This has been the mischief of the Code from the beginning. The pathetically well-meaning attempt to cover the Barebones Code of Mr. Lowe with flesh (and Sir Francis Sandford, a man of great native power and eminent as an administrator, has done all that man could do in this direction) has not yet succeeded, and this simply because of the failure to take a connected view of the whole question. Hence we may say of the Department what Burke said of the British Government of his time: "They have taken things by bits and scraps—some at one time on one pretence, and some at another, just as they pressed, without any regard to their relations and dependencies." It has gladly to be conceded, however, that though, as a whole, the new "proposals" lack educational inspiration and the simplicity and unity of educational method, they in many and

important respects give effect to educational, as opposed to official, views. In the extension of the requirements demanded from infant schools, in the introduction of payment on class examination instead of individual examination in the first two standards, in the reform of the specific subjects' schedule, in the institution of a seventh standard and the consequent encouragement of superior-primary schools where the population makes these desirable, we note most important changes in the right direction. The increase and improvement of the school staff, again, is a reform which will meet with the approval of every man in the country who thinks of the interests of education, and not merely of his pocket. Mr. Mundella promises so to distribute the grants that good schools will be as well off as ever. This will doubtless be a difficult act of administration. But even if schools received less, what then? Surely imperial grants are liberal enough—too liberal. The proposal also to count as scholars all who have been on the roll of the school for six months, as opposed to the present restriction of 250 attendances, is altogether a good one, and can be objected to only by those who have some other than a merely educational motive. It is impossible, in a brief lecture, to enter into any detailed justification of this proposal, but one good result of its being passed into law will be that boards and schoolmasters will make greater joint efforts than they now do to secure regularity of attendance. But perhaps the greatest improvement of all is contained

in proposal 6, which gives power to the inspector to classify schools according to their merit as "fair," "good," or "excellent," and to recommend a special grant to schools above "fair." There are, notwithstanding all this, manifest defects, and to these we may refer without, I trust, incurring odium, since we have all been publicly invited to criticise by the president and vice-president themselves.

Accordingly, I would remark very briefly: *first*, that it is difficult to reconcile proposals 1, 12, and 14. "Payment on the passes of individual scholars" is abolished in proposal 12, but in 14 we are told that though the grant will be calculated on the basis of average attendance in terms of proposal 1, it will be determined by the "proportion of passes actually made, to those that might have been made." Thus, (if I correctly understand the proposal) the chief objections to the present way of estimating a school remain in all the standards above the second. The master must press on the dull and laggard at the cost of the life of the school. He dare not venture to dwell on the substance and teaching of a lesson lest he should miss some individual "pass." In the higher portion of the school, accordingly, the fundamental defect of the Code reveals itself, for we find that intellectual and ethical results are there subordinated to those of a technical and formal kind. Now, true teaching is the conversation of the instructed with the uninstructed on a graduated series of subjects and lessons. Its aim is the vivifying of the intelligence,

instruction in the conditions of human well-being, the inculcation of moral and religious truth, the training of the child to tenderness and reverence and to seemly manners. And if this be the true aim of teaching, true inspection is the taking of the measure of these things by a man who has an eye and a heart. For these things primarily the teacher should labour, and for these things the inspector, as the representative of the Government, should also labour. The teacher is the ordained pastor of childhood, and the inspector is his bishop. The school is the porch of the temple of the Church, and the temple itself is merely the school of adults—too narrow in its present interpretation of its functions perhaps, but gradually being broadened. It is for human life that the teacher is preparing his young charge, and he is himself in some sort an apostle of humanity. His credentials are spiritual credentials as much as those of any high priest. His aim is, in the words of Tennyson—

“To train to riper growth the mind and will.”

Now, we want the teacher's work estimated from this point of view.

We shall be told that high intellectual and ethical results are visionary and unattainable, and that we must therefore content ourselves with measuring, by means of government tape, the precise quantity of reading, writing, and arithmetic, even though we thereby convert our schools into mills and our teachers into mechanics. But the answer is, that the ideal is by its

very nature always unattainable : none the less is it to be held aloft as the aim of school-keeping, as of individual life. Rest assured that the acquirement of the mere instruments of education can be best secured where the highest ends of the school are striven for ; and to make this possible we must, I am persuaded, content ourselves with eighty-five per cent. of "passes" as the condition of grants, thereby securing freedom to both teacher and taught.

A class should be tested as a whole, just as it is taught as a whole ; but by this I do not mean that the individuals who compose a class are to be overlooked. Every child in a class will, of course, read to the inspector, and that more than once, and he will note those who fall below the mark. The class will then be examined in the subject-matter and words of the lesson ; if necessary, in detachments of six or seven. The dictation, and composition, and writing, and arithmetic, and geography of *each* child will be noted. There is no difficulty in all this ; but, to repeat, where eighty-five per cent. of the class are found up to the mark, one hundred per cent. of the grant should be allowed for that class, and so on for every successive class. Nor should the principle vary in Standards I. and II. The inspector, further, should be required to examine *through the master* as well as independently. This is the only sound method of testing a school, if we are to get at its moral and intellectual character. The mere passing of eighty-five per cent. would secure the inspector's mark "fair ;"

all above this would depend on the impression each class and the school, as a whole, made in respect of its intelligence, morale, discipline, organization, aims, and methods.

In connection with this scheme of examination I would retain the present grant for average attendance as a basis, and also the infant grant—this last, however, on the new conditions proposed by Mr. Mundella.

Secondly.—The introduction of class-subjects into the lower division—that is, up to Standard IV. inclusive—is a decided advance, and also the requirement that where only one class-subject is taken at this stage it shall be “literature.” But of “literature” which consists merely of saying off by heart a certain number of lines of poetry, who has patience to speak? And what shall we say of the second class-subject, “elementary science?” There is no science possible for children of nine or ten years of age. All that can be done is an extension of the object-lessons of the infant school. Grammar, too, is included under “English” in this, the lower part of the school, to the great waste of the teacher’s time and the stunting of the pupil’s intelligence.

Thirdly.—In all the standards we have history prescribed, and no second reading-book insisted on. Now, if there were a deliberate purpose to defeat the labours of the past, and the prime object of all Education Acts, no surer way could be taken to do so. All the avenues whereby a child comes into contact with human life and duty, with nature, and with

the products of imagination, are to be choked up with the dry record of kings, dates, and battles : for what else, in point of fact, is primary school history ?

Fourthly.—Among the specific subjects of the upper division we have animal physiology prescribed, but with no indication that this is to be taught with reference to the laws of health. The result of this will simply be that, adorning the school-walls, you will have a series of diagrams of grim and ghastly skeletons and lively pictures of the human intestines. Under such stimulus, the tender bud of the child's soul is to open into flower and to yield a rich fruitage ! The aspiring boy is expected to find relief from the study of dusty chronology (mislabeled history) in the analysis of his own processes of respiration and digestion. What we want to teach the children of the people is hygiene—not physiology. Through the analytic we discipline mind, but mind grows through the synthetic ; and, up to the age of puberty, the analytic should never be carried further than is necessary to the fuller comprehension of the synthetic. This applies to language as well as to physical science.

Fifthly.—The first two standards, we are all glad to see, are to be tested as classes—glad because it is evidence that the Government is feeling its way to a better system than the present. But, unfortunately, this testing is to be done by the examination of a selected number of individuals. Here we have, it seems to me, the individual pass examination restored,

and in a worse form, because the selection of pupils will be necessarily arbitrary and capricious. A class should be examined as a whole, just as it is taught as a whole. It would almost appear as if the confidence of the Department in its inspectors was largely tempered with distrust.

Sixthly.—A decided advance, I have already said, is the addition of a seventh standard, the object being to carry the education of the more active-minded boys and girls further than at present in the primary schools, and thus to approximate the English system to the Scottish practice. But here again, as I have already indicated, we are met by a most disappointing scheme of study. The boy is now to read a passage from Milton or Shakespeare or some history (history again !), but whether he is to read intelligently, expressively, or to understand at all what he reads, is not said. He is further to write a “theme,” and work sums in percentages, discount, and stocks! Do the Government seriously mean to say that this is either discipline or food for the boy of fourteen? The boys who prolong their stay at the primary schools beyond the ordinary period are presumably boys of ardent and active natures who have begun to feel the workings of *mind* in them,—to be dimly aware that “man does not live by bread alone,” but that the human spirit has its needs and its life apart from the getting of food and of clothes for its body. To the boy thus visited with vague previsions of spiritual life, and groping for aliment for the new needs of his soul,

you open the inner shrine of the child-temple of the Muses and introduce him to what—to discount and brokerage! Here in this ante-chamber of Mammon you tell him to unfold his soul-wings. He may gain something from Milton if he does not rather (as is probable) prefer the easier “history,” and he may acquire some skill in reading “Paradise Lost” even backwards. But this is all. You may reasonably ask me what I should propose at this stage of a boy’s intellectual life. The answer is not difficult. The “class-subjects” (so-called) should be thrown into the standard work in every part of the school (for, as I have often said on former occasions, there are, up to a certain age at least, *no* “specific” subjects in education), and other improvements made, which would issue in something like the following requirements in the highest class :—

The reading with intelligence, emphasis, and expression, a book of Milton *or* a historical play of Shakespeare.

The study of the said book or play with reference to its thought, its logical sequence of development, and its characteristics of style.

The grammar and *general* analysis of the book professed.

The vocables of the book professed with their cognates.

A piece of good literary prose similarly studied.

Evidence that the boy has read by himself, or cursively with the master, one of the longer poems of Scott and the greater part of Goldsmith ; or, instead of these, selections from the poetry of England.

The composition of a narrative of any part that may be selected by the inspector from a limited period of British history—*the period to be chosen by the boy himself.*

Revision of physical geography with continued map-drawing.

Problems requiring the exercise of thought in proportion involving fractions treated as vulgar or decimal.

Drawing, either mechanical or from models.

One book of Euclid, or mensuration, or the second stage of some foreign tongue, or two or three chapters of Huxley's physiography (adapted by the master).

Here you have both discipline and food—meal, not sawdust ; bread, not dry bones ; the music of knowledge, not the hard clanking of its machinery.

The Education Code then, even as revised, is not yet, it seems to me, an Educational Code ; nor can it become this till the so-called class-subjects, somewhat modified, are thrown into the ordinary standard work, and the whole scheme of elementary instruction elaborated into a unity—which, as a unity, will also have the virtue of such simplicity that he who runs may read.

When, indeed, we contemplate the outcome of seven years' schooling as exhibited in the proposed seventh standard, we cannot but feel that this is not what Wordsworth dreamt of when he sighed for

“The coming of that glorious time
 When, prizes knowledge as her noblest wealth
 And best protection, this imperial Realm,
 While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
 An obligation, on her part, to teach
 Them who are born to serve her and obey ;
 Binding herself by statute to secure
 For all the children whom her soil maintains
 The rudiments of letters, and inform
 The mind with moral and religious truth,
 Both understood and practised,—so that none,
 However destitute, be left to droop
 By timely culture unsustained ; or run
 Into a wild disorder ; or be forced
 To drudge through a weary life without the help
 Of intellectual implements and tools ;
 A savage horde among the civilized,
 A servile band among the lordly free !”

And yet it is clear enough (now that Lord Sherbrooke and all his works are wiped out), that it is such results as these that the Department honestly and earnestly desires.

As regards Scotland, there can be no doubt that the true policy at present is to do nothing until “proposals” for Scotland have been submitted to Parliament. Better to wait a year than to have our Code still left in a fluid condition.*

* The purely financial treatment of the truly great question now before the country by the deputations that have besieged Whitehall is most disappointing. But it is by no means so discreditable as the tone of the discussions at teachers' meetings in Scotland. From teachers, at least, if it be true that they belong to a profession, we are surely entitled to expect educational views.

IV. Next after an Educational Code, among the wants of Scotland, is protection for the Tenure of Teachers.

Those who are opposed to some protection of the teachers' tenure of office have formed a wholly inadequate conception of the sort of men we want for the education of the people. On the other hand, it is equally certain that teachers urge the question of tenure too much as if it were a personal right, and with too little regard for the interests of the community. The question, it seems to me, simply is, "How shall we get the best possible men for the education of our children?" And the answer is, "In the same way as we get the best possible men for other professions"—viz., by good salaries, class privileges, social consideration, and protection from arbitrary interference, either in the shape of dismissal or in any other form. The day of conferring class privileges is gone, and social consideration cannot be given by Act of Parliament; it depends on the education, and character, and aims of the men who compose a class. Where these are high, all the social consideration that is worth having will follow. Tenure of office, however, it is in our power to give, and it is quite as efficacious as salary in attracting the better class of minds into any profession. The question is, therefore, one of national importance, if education be of national importance. No one desires to protect men who are either inefficient or immoral, cruel, or even harsh. The sooner masters and mistresses who

fall under these designations are swept into the class of day-labourers or policemen the better for our schools, and, for that matter, the better for themselves. No one can defend the old *ad vitam* tenure. The question, from the side of the schoolmaster, is, "How can masters who are efficient—nay, even zealous in their discharge of duty, be protected from the arbitrary action of men set over them who may be, and often are, ignorant of a teacher's work, and incapable of respecting his office and his personal independence?" There have been few cases of hardship, it is said; but this is because people measure the hardship by the actual number of dismissals protested against. The hardship does not lie in this at all. Indeed, were the schoolmasters and those who sympathize with them to rest their whole case on unjust dismissals alone, they would fail in their attempts to alter the law. The hardship lies in the weary months and years that precede dismissal or lead to resignation. It is the daily interference or worrying of ignorant and incompetent superiors that make the teacher's life undesirable, and which in many cases known to me have taken the heart out of the very best men. It is the necessity of being on good *personal* relations with these superiors, and of humouring them, that degrades and afflicts the teacher, who, through his vocation, touches them on their most sensitive side—their children. Further, it is the disposition, on the part of ignorant superiors, to strain their authority over those under them, especially if these subordinates are intellectually their

bettters, which is the source of the teacher's anxieties and irritations. Now, it is the ultimate power of *arbitrary* dismissal which is at the bottom of all these evils ; and the teaching body seem to me to be right in thinking that a check on this is required. I am quite sure that it will sooner or later be obtained, not because it is a teachers' question, but because it is a national question. It is a national question because the law, as it stands, affects vitally the education of the country by turning away the best men from the profession of teacher, and by striking at that independence and freedom of action which is essential to all good work of an intellectual and moral kind.

The relations in which bank managers stand to their clerks, often cited against the granting of protection to the teacher, are not to the point at all. The bank manager knows his business so well that he will not dismiss a clerk who ought not to be dismissed. Moreover, *individual* responsibility exists in all such cases, and makes the manager pause before dismissing or even censuring ; while the fact that he himself also is responsible to a body of directors must operate as a powerful check on all his actions. The teacher's case would be parallel were he dismissable only by a superintendent of education who had been trained to a schoolmaster's work, who was of mature experience, and who, moreover, had to justify his acts before a board of educational supervision or a council of education. Teachers would be quite satisfied with such protection of tenure as this.

While saying so much on one side, I feel, and have always felt, the strength of the position "that there may be other grounds besides inefficiency on which a board may object to a teacher, and may think it desirable, in the interests of the school and of the district, to remove him from office." Nay, one may go even further, and say that a board, while unable to specify any faults against a teacher which could bear public statement, might still honestly think that, for the salary they offered, a better man might be got. Why should the children of a parish be subjected, for example, to the teaching of a man whose personal bearing and moral influence are unsatisfactory, although the inspector's report might show that he does his work fairly well? A board, in the discharge of its duty, is quite entitled to say to a teacher, "You are efficient, but we want somebody *more* efficient, and we think we can get him." Again, a teacher may be "efficient," but harsh, though not cruel; he may be "efficient," but may spend his time smoking, lounging, and gossiping about the village when his day's work is done; he may be "efficient," but he may be a hot fanatic, political or ecclesiastical; he may be "efficient," yet slovenly in his habits and vulgar in his manners. In all such cases, surely, a school board is justified in making a change. The teachers have not yet fully met this objection to protected tenure; and until they do so, they will justly be accused (not for the first time) of thinking more of personal rights than of the education of the country.

For my own part, I think that tenure would be sufficiently protected if boards were required to form themselves into private committees when anything personal to the teacher was under discussion ; if a month's notice were given of the intention to consider the continuance of the teacher in his post ; if private censure and warning *always* preceded dismissal ; if (warning having failed and dismissal being contemplated) two months were to elapse between notice of a motion for dismissal and the adoption of it ; if reasons were assigned in writing to the teacher when notice of motion was given, and an opportunity of appearing in his own defence afforded him ; and if, finally, his dismissal could take effect only if voted for by not *not less than two-thirds of the board*. The time which would elapse under such a system of procedure would prevent hasty and immature counsels, and would also afford to a teacher an opportunity of quietly withdrawing. In this way we might secure substantial justice by prescribing a form of process.

V. Other educational wants might be here referred to if there were time, such as approved school reading-books, and, above all, the institution of school-libraries *graduated and adapted to the standards of the Code*, beginning with "Nursery Rhymes" and "Jack the Giant Killer," and going up to Bacon's "Advancement of Learning." Such libraries are a vital part of a national system. But I hasten to the consideration of a defect of a more important kind

still remaining to be noticed : I mean, the training of schoolmasters.

VI. The question which yet awaits final settlement in Scotland is the Training of the teacher. It is to the action of the Education Department, opening its mind to the (so-called) theories of outside students of national education, and taking under its charge the initial experiments which had been voluntarily made five-and-forty years ago, that we owe the now universal acceptance of the doctrine that the schoolmaster must be trained for his work. May we not hope, then, that notwithstanding the burden of complex details with which it has to contend, the same Department may yet complete the work which it began in 1839, and without which the Education Act of 1870 would have been impossible? I have been too long and too intimately cognizant of the work of training colleges to depreciate their great services to the country, but it was many years ago manifest that the State was gradually monopolizing the training of teachers in Scotland to the exclusion of the Universities, and that a mistake had been made, involving much unnecessary outlay of public money. For this we can scarcely blame the Department, when we consider that the Universities themselves became alive to their relation to the general education of the country only (some dare to say) when they saw that it would bring grist to their mill. So long ago as 1861 it was foreseen that the training

colleges would gradually fill every school in Scotland with students who had only received the benefit of a narrow and illiberal course of training based on an English model, and that the connection that had so long subsisted between the Universities and the teaching profession would thus be broken—a result to be deprecated in the national interest, because it was through the parochial teachers that the Universities maintained their relations with the general body of the people. The agitation which began twenty years ago, in consequence of an article written by myself, was ultimately so far successful, that a few years ago the Department recognized the attendance of the *élite* of the training college students at the Universities, and this has been followed by the University institution in Edinburgh and Glasgow of a Literateship in Arts, which, if taken in addition to the Government Certificate, is evidence that the young teacher possesses a University as well as a training college qualification. These are great steps in advance, but there is something still to do. Do not for a moment suppose that we can do without the training colleges. These must continue to exist, not only for the class of student-teachers who come up from the country with humble acquirements, but for the *whole* class of male and female teachers. But such arrangements should be made as will get rid entirely, in the case of University Queen's Scholars, of history, political geography, and ordinary grammar at the entrance examination. The training college work should, for these students,

be almost entirely done during the summer session, and, after the first year *this should be tutorial work in the line of the new Literateship in Arts*, with the addition of physical geography the first year and physiography the second. A literateship might then be accepted in all such cases by the Department as qualifying for a teacher's certificate, except in the special normal school subjects. During the winter sessions at the Universities the training college authorities would of course continue to exercise a tutorial supervision over their students.

The Department need not be afraid of deputing this part of their work — the examination for a literateship—to the Universities, for these are national institutions, their courses of study and degrees are from time to time regulated by the State through Orders in Council and by commissions, and the stamp they put on men should be accepted by the State, since it is itself the primary fountain of all academic honours. In the large field of primary instruction we have at present the "one-portal system" of the Department's examination, which is hurtful to the freedom of education. It cuts all according to one pattern, presumed to be the best, whereas the best for each man is that which gives fullest play to his own intellectual aptitudes ; and for this the literateship provides. The M.A. degree has, as you are doubtless aware, been recognized by the Department as qualifying for a public school, provided the graduate has had three months' practical training and

passes an examination in methods: what we now want is the recognition of the Literateship in Arts, and its incorporation, in some form or other, in the Department's scheme of training. It would certainly be better that, as in the three north-eastern counties, the mastership of our public schools should be more largely recruited from the graduate class; but to look to this source for a sufficient future supply of teachers is vain. The literateship is a practical object of ambition for at least one-half of our training college students: the full degree is attainable only by a select few.

You will see, from what has been said, that we have no reason to complain of the Department. Any changes yet desirable are all in the line of those which they have already sanctioned; no new principle is involved, and we should very soon have all we wanted were the training college syllabus for Scotland issued as a *separate* document by the Scotch Education Department, and not by the English. This reform is not too much to ask. Indeed, a Scottish Act and a Scottish Code seem to carry with them, as a logical consequence, a Scottish training system.

The problem of the training of schoolmasters for high schools is one which has not yet been faced, but, in Scotland at least, it is one very easy of solution. An Educational Diploma should be made the condition of employment in all high schools, and this diploma should be granted by the Universities to all who, in addition to a degree in Arts or Science, give

evidence that they have studied the principles and methods of education, and have obtained practical training in schools recognized as training schools, such as the high schools at the University seats. It may be objected that this would exclude from high schools foreign teachers of modern languages, but this difficulty might be met by recognizing a foreign diploma, and in the case of those who had it not, the Universities might guarantee their qualifications after examination. My belief, however, is that the modern languages will never take their proper place in Scottish education until they are taught by Scottish graduates who have, by residence abroad, qualified for the teaching of French and German in their native country.

In conclusion, let me say a further word for my own subject. It is a melancholy reflection that while in the proposals for a new Code in England, Mr. Mundella is prepared to recognize University graduates as public school teachers, and provides for their practical training, he ignores altogether the fact that a Cambridge Syndicate has arranged for courses of lectures in the History and Methods of Education, and does not require a certificate from a University that graduates who are anxious to enter the public service as schoolmasters have attended such lectures and benefited by them. Such an omission as this is to me inexplicable in view of the present agitation for technical instruction. The school may be said to

correspond to the industrial workshop, and the present ambition of Mr. Mundella is to send into the industrial workshop men who have had technical instruction, which Lord Rosebery, again, in an able speech at a London meeting last summer, defined to be instruction in the principles and history of the various arts. But when we come to education, the highest and most complex of all the arts, technical instruction—that is to say, instruction in the history and principles of education—is ignored! The Bradford foreman, forsooth, is to be instructed in a knowledge of the different kinds of wool which he handles, with the scientific principles (if any) that underlie his combing, spinning, weaving, and dyeing; but the head of a school is not to be required to seek a knowledge of the material in which he works—the delicate organism of the human mind, and of the principles which flow from this knowledge and form the basis of the methods of the *school* workshop! I do not complain that a Government bureau should be slow to initiate this kind of training; it is too much hampered with the work of keeping its complex machinery supplied with adequate steam-power, and with oiling its various parts with a view to efficiency and good “results.” It is to the Universities we are entitled to look as the nurseries of new ideas; but it is certainly not too much to expect that the Government of the country should recognize what has been already done by the Universities in Great Britain, Germany, and America. A teacher, the Philistines tell us (and there are

Philistines even in our Universities), is born, not made. So they said when normal schools were first instituted, and so they say now when the academic development of the normal school idea is taking philosophical shape. All our schemes of education—all organization,—we may be assured, will fail if we do not educate the teacher in educating, and fix the standard high.

There is, I freely grant, such a thing as teaching genius, which is independent of training. There are teachers also who, though destitute of this genius, are yet thoughtful men in whose minds the routine methods of the normal schools are vivified into living principles ; but in the vast majority of cases these technical methods of the school-workshop remain merely in the dead form of rules and maxims, and leave the teacher precisely where the apt mechanic now is. It is the insight into philosophical principles that gives a true and never-failing supply of intellectual energy to the teacher, it is the apprehension of ideas that ennobles and inspires him, it is contact with the history of past efforts to educate the race that gives to him breadth and humanity. *Without* the sustaining energy thus supplied, it seems to me that the teacher's vocation is dreary enough ; *with* it, there is a daily renewal of spiritual life for himself and his pupils. It is a beneficent arrangement of nature, doubtless, that enables so many men to work by rule and routine, "circling like the gin-horse," as Carlyle says, "for whom partial or total blindness is no evil,

round and round, still fancying that it is forward and forward, and realise much—for himself victual, for the world an additional horse's power in the grand corn-mill or hemp-mill of economic society :” but it is not such men we want for the spiritual work of society. If we cannot get genius, we can at least, through a spiritual philosophy, give to all save those whom nature has destined to be hodmen, inspiration either moral or intellectual ; and if the spiritual has caught hold of a man on either the moral or the intellectual side he is made. “ How,” to quote Carlyle again, “ can an inanimate, mechanical gerund-grinder, the like of whom will, in a subsequent century, be manufactured at Nürnberg out of wood and leather, foster the growth of anything ; much more of Mind, which grows, not like a vegetable (by having its roots littered with etymological compost), but like a Spirit, by mysterious contact of Spirit ; Thought kindling itself at the fire of living Thought ? How should HE give kindling, in whose inward man there is no live coal, but all is burnt out to a dead grammatical cinder ? The Hinterschlag professors knew syntax enough ; and of the human soul thus much : that it had a faculty called Memory, and could be acted on through the muscular integument by appliance of birch-rods. Alas, so is it everywhere, so will it ever ; till the hodman is discharged, or reduced to hod-bearing ; and an architect is hired, and on all hands fitly encouraged ; till communities and individuals discover, not without surprise, that fashioning the souls of a

generation by Knowledge can rank on a level with blowing their bodies to pieces by gunpowder."

"Education," says Cardinal Newman, "is a high word : it is nothing less than the formation of a mind." If this be so, what shall we say of the educators, and their equipment for their great world-task ? Is the Academic treatment of the subject not a matter of national concern ? May not the Education Department condescend to recognize it ?

AUTHORITY IN RELATION TO
DISCIPLINE.

AUTHORITY IN RELATION TO DISCIPLINE, AND THE DANGERS THAT ATTEND THE DISCIPLINE OF GOOD MASTERS.*

I DO not propose in this address to speak of incompetent masters—of men, that is to say, who cannot maintain discipline without constant appeal to cane or taws. Such men ought at once to leave the profession ; they are naturally disqualified for it. What sight more melancholy than to see a teacher with his book in his hand and the taws hanging under it, hooked over his little finger ! What an utter misapprehension of the whole aim of school-life does this indicate ! The driving, which is an inevitable result of the Code, makes this necessary, we are told ; and so far we may admit the apology. The chief objection to the “individual pass” system lies, indeed, in this, that it causes the teacher to drive ; and driving too often ends in physical coercion and pain. Even girls are flogged, and the steady progress which Scot-

* Read at the Educational Congress at Edinburgh, 5th January, 1882.

land was making in the recognition of the fact that moral power is the only truly educational power, has been put back for a whole generation by the Code.

In this address I have in view only good masters, as you will see from its published title—men who regard physical pain as a rare and final resort in discipline, and who honestly desire to make moral law supreme. I desire to consider, in a philosophical spirit, the dangers to which the two chief kinds of good masters are exposed, and to guard them against these dangers, which, I think, generally arise from their misinterpretation of the word Authority.

Let me start, then, with the proposition that all sound discipline of the young rests ultimately on authority as its basis; and that authority itself rests on reason. And further, that the object of school discipline, properly understood, is not to secure obedience to school rules and the doing of the daily lessons, but to create in the boy self-discipline. The end is an ethical end ; it has in view the gradual and slow formation of the character of the pupil, through the inculcation of motives and the strengthening of will. These things being assumed, I would say further that the process of all disciplining of unformed minds by others consists largely in supplying not so much direct motives as collateral motives to the weak, uncertain will, whereby it may be steadied and borne on to its purpose. This has to be done till habit has been formed. A boy or youth, for example,

may have a clear perception of the right in conduct ; he may be intensely sensitive to the influence of those sentiments and emotions which urge him to do the right, but yet he may never do it save by accident. The tendency of the natural man is like the steady pull of a physical force ; it is like gravitation—always there, always certain—dragging the boy's will along without effort on his part, *flumine secundo*.

Now, the most potent of all the collateral aids to the unfashioned will of boyhood is the authority that resides in the parent or master, and is symbolized in their persons ; nay, it may be maintained that all true and genuine discipline whatsoever emanates from authority, and that disciplining of the young is simply authority in action according to time and circumstances. If we seek then, for the source of all sound and healthy discipline of the pupil, we shall find it in the authority of the master. The master is at once the legislative and executive power. His right to legislate and to execute rest in the authority that is vested in him.

Now, by what title does he lay claim to that authority at all ? The State and the parent, it may be said, delegate to him their authority. True ; but in that very delegation there is something to be investigated. I am not going to inquire into the ultimate grounds of the authority exercised by the State in the name of civil order ; but I content myself with saying that authority, in so far as it is not concerned merely with police; *i.e.*, the driving and

coercing of human beings into the observance of law and order, but with the education of a human soul—the bringing about of that self-discipline to which I have referred above as the aim of the school, has no claim to the exercise of might, except in so far as might is based on right, and therefore on reason. I will put my point in an extreme way for the purpose of bringing out my meaning :—A father has no right to exercise might in inflicting injustice on his child, simply because that child has the misfortune to be his offspring. Nay, I go further, and hold that a father has no right to exercise his might in imposing what is merely unreasonable on his boy—I mean what is in itself, and, apart from the boy's own opinion, unreasonable. Children submit, doubtless, to such inflictions ; but why ? Because they are too ignorant to understand their rights, and too weak to assert them. The unjust and unreasonable parent takes advantage of this meanly. If these remarks be true of the parent, how much more, then, are they true of the master of a school ?

Authority, then, which is the foundation of all discipline, is not might or force, as old masters used to think, and as many still think. It is might as based on right, and, in dealing with moral and emotional beings, must always be able to vindicate itself at the bar of right. Where, then, shall we look for the characteristics of authority which constitute it right in might ? I think we shall find them by introspection,—by ascertaining the characteristics of that

inner authority of the moral law, that supremacy and rightful might of conscience under which we all as spirits live and work. Now, I find this inner law of conscience, which is my schoolmaster, which disciplines me to be always just, to be always right and reasonable, to be always the same, to be always bound up with the highest sentiments and aspirations of my nature, to condemn only when a real offence has been committed ; to recognize pleas of mercy, to be not equally severe with all offences, but to graduate them ; and finally, to exist in my consciousness clothed with the supreme majesty of the Most High.

Now, all good masters may be placed under one of two classes. (1.) Those in whom these characteristics of the inner authority of conscience are conspicuous. They embody in their own character, actions, and manner, the moral law. They are ever exhibiting, consciously or unconsciously, the right of the might of authority. (2.) Those who but dimly recognize the moral ground of the authority. They wield and consequently embody rather the pure might of authority.

The former is the just man, who educates ; the latter is the strong-willed man, who, by the exhibition of law and might, with their background of physical force, coerces boys into the doing of certain things, and calls it discipline. The first type of master I would call "The Wise Master;" the second type I would call "the Captain-Master." As the great

object of school is the education of a moral being, not the mere drilling of boys into conformity with certain external rules, it is only the just man who is the wise master, and who really understands the greatness and dignity of his position, and his power as an instrument in human progress. The strong-willed or captain-master may be likened to a head policeman or the captain of a vessel on the high seas. The best of this type have many merits, which I am very far indeed from ignoring, but, at best, they do not look far enough forward. They are content with the immediate results of orders obeyed. The wise and just master, on the other hand, has for his motto, *Respic finem*. "What am I ultimately aiming at?" is the question he asks himself. And the answer is, "The education of my boys as moral and spiritual beings." All else he will sacrifice to this grand aim. I confess I have great respect for the captain-master, and I am glad to find him when perfect in his kind; but for the wise master I have a feeling of veneration. I know no position so exalted as his: I know no man so admirable. I can find no professional worker in the world's work who is to be named with him in the same breath.

Having briefly described the two kinds of masters, I would now dwell for a little, with your permission, on the dangers and weaknesses to which these different types of men are exposed. For it is not to be presumed that we find either of them in perfection. What we may and do find is honest men striving to

be one or the other, and some coming pretty near the goal they are striving to reach.

I.—First, as to the wise master, the true educator, what are his dangers?

1. He is apt to lose sight of the might that resides in the might of authority. He is apt to forget that while the foundation of his authority is a moral one, yet its effectiveness consists in the might which it exhibits. He is in a governing position: he is a ruler, a monarch. But he may be self-analytic, and so humbly conscious of his own personal shortcomings as to have a half misgiving as to the rightfulness of firmly asserting his own authority simply as such. In exercising a firm, though wisely moderate, authority, he may not himself always heartily believe in it. His own sins of omission and commission may be so many, his own failure to lead that perfect life of the wise man up to which he is educating his boys may be so clear to his own secret consciousness, that he half feels himself to be an impostor, and is sometimes disposed to smile at his own assumption of autocratic power. He cannot but be aware how much better in many respects is a fine boy than even a so-called good man. The disturbances of his equanimity caused by petty everyday incidents, the irritability caused by work and anxiety, the sense of failure to discharge his responsibilities, the envies, the jealousies, the uncharitableness, the anger which the conflicts of the world engender, the little

vanities or the pride which hang on the skirts of his robe of office—all these things and many more disturb his daily thoughts, and make him feel less than the least of those to whom he is to be a model, a guardian, and guide. He feels himself to be a sham, for he has to seem what he is not. If under the influence of such self-analysis he disrobes himself of the purple of command, he is undone. His estimate of himself and his position are both wrong. He forgets that there is no such thing as the wise man, the perfect character. He has misread the moral teachings of life. He forgets that the highest life of the saint is still a struggle, still a falling and rising again, and that the distinguishing mark of all the wisdom and goodness to which finite man can reach is the continual and continuous effort to be wise and good. He ought to remember the failures of the past only in so far as they strengthen him for the present and the future. He must not therefore allow his self-knowledge of failure and imperfection to weaken his assumption of the authority—the might, of his position. It will always temper the exercise of that authority, but it ought not to detract from the exhibition of it.

Is not this, however, to maintain relations with the young spirits around him which are not true and honest, and which therefore have in them the element of failure, as all untruth necessarily has? Not so; for, as his estimate of himself is wrong, so is his estimate of his position. He does not stand there at the

head of these youthful spirits in his personal capacity alone. He is a representative of all that is wise and good, and in that representative and ministerial character he must maintain the dignity of his office. He holds Her Majesty's Commission, so to speak, and is there in the name of the State ; he is the minister of the thought and experience of mankind, and is there in the name of humanity ; he is the sum of the past, and is there in the cause of the future ; he is the representative to the young of the highest spiritual aims and hopes of mankind, and consequently is there in the name of the Most High. Let him think of these things, and whilst he will not thereby lessen his efforts to harmonize his own inner life with his high and sacred calling, he will yet maintain authority, by exhibiting the might and dignity which becomes his office.

2. Again, the clear perception of the ultimate justification of his own authority—the moral justification of it, may lead him to bring that moral justification so much into the foreground as to weaken the expression of authority as law or might on the one side, and of obligation and obedience to authority, simply as such, on the other. He may resort to explanations, exhortations, appeals, and persuasions, instead of to command. Now, a master must always be able to vindicate, if necessary, every order and every authoritative act in the court of common sense and at the bar of justice, but he is not bound to make this always clear to his subjects. By ex-

planation and persuasion he flatters one kind of boy, and so loses his respect ; he weakens another kind of boy, though retaining his affection, also, however, at the expense of his respect ; he wholly undermines the only motive which guides and sustains another, which is the sense of the power of law. With the boy of finest temper he does not lose much, for such a boy has already in a half-conscious way penetrated to the secrets of authority and shares the spirit of the master, but even with him he weakens his position. I am very far from saying that with his boys a master should not sometimes put himself in the position of a persuader and explainer. On the contrary, he must let all see from time to time the ethical reality of the school forms, and lead them to understand the ethical significance of his authoritative acts and words. But he must not dwell on this : he must act his ideas rather than talk them. There are occasions, or, if there are none, they should be made, when the lesson of the day gives room for the sowing of moral seed by clear analysis of the motives of moral action, or the pointed application of a story, a poem, or historic deed. These opportunities should not only be taken, but sought and created. School life itself, too, will yield, in its ordinary incidents, abundance of material for enforcing the right and noble in thought and action. What I mean is, that he must not rest his authority on explanation and persuasion, but he may, as fit occasion arises, support it with these.

A glance of the eye, a frown, a smile, a friendly pat, an encouraging word—these are the forms which his moral persuasions must take. In fact, a master who habitually tries to exhibit to his boys the ground of all his actions, and to *persuade* to the right, abdicates his authority as such. He does so with the best intentions, relying on the power of truth and goodness, forgetting that the power of these fails even with himself, how much more, then, with the immature mind, which cannot comprehend them in all their depth! In truth, he calls on the weak and as yet unformed will to do what his own mature will does not always accomplish. But the worst is this, that he forgets that the moral nature of boys finds its support and strength in authority and law as embodied in him, and that if he substitutes ideas and thoughts and sentiments in room of these, that support is withdrawn.

I have already said that opportunities are numerous for pointing morals, stimulating to virtuous effort, inciting to the disdaining of sloth, and the suppression of vicious propensities, and of holding up to the boys the standard at which they should aim. These fit occasions the master will gladly seize for bringing into clear daylight the undercurrent of moral and religious principle which guides his conduct, and is presumed to animate the school life. The boys will thus not merely learn to act rightly, but will get some vision of the beauty and divine charm of goodness and of the dignity of virtue. But

with all this, a master must beware of wearing "his heart upon his sleeve for daws to peck at." All talk on his part has to be kept within severe limits, for it has no end save action, and boys must not be led to substitute the dreamy contemplation of the good for the doing of the right. In speaking to boys, moreover, avoid dwelling on the sentimental or emotional side of goodness where they themselves are concerned ; they do not understand this. Sentiment, like humour, comes late, save in exceptional cases. It is the manliness, the heroism, the justice, the wisdom, the nobility of goodness and virtue, which can reach the hearts of boys ; and the lowness, the meanness, the unwise-dom, the injustice, the weakness, the unworthiness of vice.

3. In the third place, a weakness which besets the wise master is a certain contempt for his own rules and for his own school order. He feels so deeply his own strength in ideas, he is so confident of the justness of his own sentiments, he is so sure of the truth of his own emotions, he is so strong in his spiritual strength, that he is prepared to suspend, set aside, or override the rules of the school, under the persuasion that his moral resources are so great that he can, when he chooses, restore things to their proper balance. The temptation to do this is great. It is so detrimental to that settled order which contributes so largely to the promotion of good habits in the young, that a master must be on his guard against this weakness. "That will do for to-day,"

"Never mind, it is of little consequence," said in impatience, trusting to the power of recovering lost ground, is a blunder. Even the wise master, then, has to be watchful over himself with respect to those vices of management which lean to virtue's side. I speak, of course, of a school; for it may constantly occur in the well-understood relations of a tutor and a single pupil, or of a father and child, that freedom may be taken with rules which both understand. So also, and for the same reasons, such conduct would not affect the boy of finest temper; but a master has to deal with various characters, and with these also in various moods, which it is impossible for him to estimate. In dealing with particular faults, too, he is apt to be lenient, where he is himself well assured that the act of the pupil was well meant, or that the impulse that prompted him had a mixture of good in it. Such treatment of the individual case may be quite safe, but its effect on a school is hurtful. It weakens the sense of order and just administration. Morally there may be no fault to find with the treatment of the case, in so far as the relations of master and pupil are concerned; but in a school there is such a thing as the universal as well as the particular conscience which has to be considered, and which must be in all doubtful cases paramount. The master's personal feeling about the case ought not to govern; if it does, law is weakened thereby, for the majority of boys can ascribe the course pursued to the arbitrary will of the master alone, and cannot

be expected to discriminate and note those finer characteristics of an act or incident which justify exceptional treatment.

It is not merely weak men who break down in the administration of a school system, nor is it their case that we now are specially considering, but that of the strong man—the man so strong in his own moral convictions and spiritual resources, that he is disposed to treat as of little importance the rules and methods which he has himself in the wisest moments imposed. Such a course of conduct has, moreover, its justification to the understanding, for it is not desirable to have a hard and fast line of pedantic military rule. There should be some elasticity—some elbow-room—in the school system, just as in the moral code and habits that govern the individual conscience. In this feeling that the organized life of a school should not be wooden and inelastic, there is a sound principle. But this does not justify fitful and capricious administration ; this freedom and elasticity should itself be a visible part of the system. The chief ground on which this opinion rests is, that it is essential to good school-keeping, that the boys should feel that there is a living and human moral force at their head—not an iron mechanism, not a Fate ; that they are not parts of a machine merely, of which the headmaster is only a kind of stoker or driver. A human heart must be felt to be beating everywhere under the outer case of rules and methods—a heart which sympathizes and understands. There must be room

left for this heart to beat freely, and this can be secured only by having as few rules as possible. Given a limited number of general rules for the guidance of the day, and all else should flow from the inspiration of the hour. The moral life of the school should start fresh every morning. How else can there be that free movement which is essential to the growth of heart and intellect? With the wise master there can be little or no difficulty in bringing about this kind of life. He proceeds on the assumption that all are aiming with him to realize a high standard, and if he has acquired the confidence of his boys, no word, or act, or gesture of his will be set down to caprice : these things will be too visibly obedience in himself to the best and highest. The boys will recognize this. The larger the school, of course, the more numerous must be the rules ; the more strict, the more system ; and the less potent the influence of the central and governing mind. This is the evil attending large schools, and which weakens their influence as moral seminaries. Recognize this : Day by day the master gives forth the moral power which is to permeate the mass. There is moral freedom on both sides. If under the influence of this free spirit the boys should err, they would, I hope and believe, not be afraid to tell their master that they had done so ; the relations between the two are candid, for are they not both working together to realize the same community of life ?

So much for the freedom and elasticity which

belong to the master and the school, as resting on moral sympathy and livingness, as opposed to mere system, and law, and formalism. But in authority itself there is also to be found an element of elasticity, for it has to regulate much that is in itself neither moral nor immoral, and in this field it has a Papal power of dispensation, which it can occasionally exercise without damage to itself. Authority as such, apart from the moral grounds on which it itself rests, can frequently suspend a rule or injunction, and by that very act strengthen itself as authority.

4. Such are some of the errors against which even the wise master has to guard. There are others not worthy of mention. But it may be well to point out that as the master we are describing has a moral affection for his boys, which becomes in many cases a personal affection, he is disposed to become too familiar and friendly. Now, pleasing as it is to be on such relations with well-disposed boys, there are dangers attending it. The principle of authority, I again repeat, is the central principle in the relations between a teacher and his pupils, and must not be tampered with. I do not mean to say that the wise master will err, or can err, so far on this virtuous side as seriously to impair the discipline of his school. A vigorous, earnest mind can take great liberties without serious hurt to any, and with possible advantage to a few of the more timid and shy natures. But such familiarities are apt to engender in the boyish mind, which we must remember is as yet untrained, inexperienced,

undisciplined, and immature (defects which only time can cure), a sense of equality that does not, cannot, ought not to exist. The master is so vigorous, so earnest, and so good withal, that there will be no attempt to evade or counteract him, because of his familiar kindness. The discipline will not be seriously, if at all, affected ; but the too great equality will deprive the higher natures of the idea of some standard to attain, and will give to all false notions of their relation to mature minds and to authority generally. This, when we consider the tendency of youth to self-assertion and to practising the art of instructing their grandfathers, is not a desirable result, especially in these times, when the crudities of youth find so easy an avenue to platforms and other prominent places.

II.—If dangers attend the administration of the wise master, they are of the nature, as I have indicated, of weaknesses which lean to virtue's side, and which arise out of too amiable a view of human and boy-nature, and too mild a sense of personal dignity—in brief, in a deficiency of pure authority simply as such.

On the other hand, the captain-master—who relies solely on authority in the sense of law and might, who distrusts all purely moral motives, who has little faith in the nature of boys, and does not believe that they are capable of receiving ideas of life and action, and relies, therefore, on the mainte-

nance of law as law, and on the preservation of a rigid system—is exposed to dangers much more serious. His duty is (or if this be not his duty, what is?) to train the boy to an independent perception of the truth of moral ideas, to the majesty of the law which resides in them, and to the habit of self-regulation. And yet he abdicates his function altogether when he treats boys simply as parts of a machine, and distrusts the growing good in them, and all the possibilities of virtue and religion as inner growths.

This man, who rests not merely his claim to rule, but his right to rule and his method of ruling, on authority purely as such, without regard to the ultimate moral basis of all authority whatsoever, who therefore never lets the light of moral ideas shine through the sable mantle of magistracy, must ever fail to attain to all the highest objects of the school; and this because he does not consciously propose to himself any such objects. In truth, it will be found he does not even propose to himself any such objects as the aim of his own personal life. He has no hesitations, no self-questionings. His life is like his school, grounded on authority—the authority of Church and State, or of social opinion and convention. He is not a living free soul, he has not attained to the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. For be it always remembered that as is the man, so is the master, and in describing the wise master, we are only describing the wise man, whose powers have

been set in the particular direction of educating others. He has to find a method, but it is deduced from his own character.

I know it will here be said by some, "Leave things alone, then ; if all depends on the man and the character, he will be a good or a bad master, spite of you and all your teachings." This is a great error. For, in the first place, a master, who is already a wise man, has, when entering on his great and delicate task, to be encouraged to have faith in the moral method which would naturally suggest itself to his nature, which is at once lofty and sympathetic, and, on the other hand, to be guarded against the tendency in that method to run to seed. By reflecting on other characters and methods in the course of his studies, moreover, he brings out with distinctness to himself his own, and thereby understands what he is doing. In the second place, it is a superficial view of human nature which classes all as good and bad, or classes them in any way which involves a visible and deep demarcation. Human nature is a complex thing, and at best we can only classify men and masters according to their leading tendencies. Our duty is accordingly to counteract the evil, and strengthen the good ; to oppose and to hold up to aversion the former, and to eliminate what is weak and questionable from the latter. By thus clearing up the conceptions which the young educational aspirant has as to his future work, we confirm the weak and put the strong on their guard, lest they in their strength should fail and

fall. Preparation for the work of tuition is thus the preparation of the man himself for life. The aspirant to the teacher's office must himself become the wise man, in order that he may be able to become the wise master. The training school for teachers, whether in the Universities or out of it, must, in fact, be itself a school for men, in order that it may be a school for schoolmasters.

To return: the captain-master, who relies on authority in its aspect of law and might alone, fails, and must fail, for want of faith in boy-nature, to attain the highest ends of school life, which are, as I have said, ethical, always ethical. At the same time, he does not wholly fail; for obedience to law as law is a great virtue, and if the master is perfect of his kind, and holds himself bound within his own rules, and does not overstrain the personal element in authority, the school is orderly, the boys acquire certain good habits, and they pass from the period of tutelage with a sense of the supremacy of authority, which is a great gain. But the dangers to which such a master is exposed are many:—

1. Such a man is very apt to overstrain his authority, and, forgetting that he is working a system, he substitutes for system arbitrary will. It is very difficult to resist this tendency. Love of power is a great snare. This captain-master identifies, ere long, the authority which to him is, in truth, only delegated, and of which he is only the representative and symbol; with his own will, authority passes into arbitrariness,

and the school quickly feels this. Now, I would ask—Why should boys, who, after all, are little men, submit to this? Even where the authority, though stern, has not yet passed into arbitrariness, why should a boy submit and carry out the system of which he is a part? There is no answer to this save one—that he is afraid to disobey. Why afraid? If he disobeyed, what would happen? The disapprobation of his master. But, mark, it is only the boy who has a strong natural tendency to submission and respect who is open to this motive. The weak, approbation-loving boy is sensitive and timid, and he also submits. The self-sufficing boy may, or may not, obey, according to his appreciation of the *ultima ratio regum*. The loyal boy of fine nature may obey, and probably will, not through fear of his master, but because he has in himself and his own perceptions of right, a motive for obedience. But note this, and it is to this I am pointing—the true spiritual life of all these is never reached by the master, and thus he cannot possibly educate. He is in truth driving, not drawing; and this comes out very clearly if we consider what his *ultima ratio* is. It is physical pain. It does not matter whether it be a pæna to write, detention in school, deprivation of certain boyish pleasures, or actual flogging—in all alike, physical dis-ease is the essential character of the punishment. A teacher, in answering a question on methods, when asked, “What steps he would take to make an idle or disobedient boy work?” wrote—“Tell him to do it, and if he

didn't, lick him!" This is the whole book of discipline with certain masters, summed up in a sentence. If he did not do it after he was licked, I suppose the next step would be to lick him again and harder, and so on, *ad infinitum*. I do not mean to say that the process would not succeed with many 'boys, but, at most, only in securing outward conformity. It never did, and never can educate. It is the method whereby slaves are made to toe the line, and bears are taught to dance. It is, however, the grand motive power which lies at the basis of the administration of the arbitrary captain-master. If now the purely authoritative method, well administered as a system, has this weakness, that it fails to educate, how much is the evil aggravated if the master yields to the tendency, which there must always be, to substitute his arbitrary will for the idea of true authority or might in the sense of right, and of which he ought to be only a passionless symbol, and perhaps persuades himself that he is.

2. The next weakness in the captain-master is the identifying of his authority with his own personality. Offences are then no longer offences against the law and system which he represents, but against himself personally. Here passion at once enters, and, with passion uncertainty and irregularity of action, and consequent injustice. Authority passes into the mere caprice of despotism. The wise master can afford to exhibit his human emotions of anger and indignation and contempt, so long as he maintains self-control;

the captain-master will find these dangerous tools to play with. They raise the former in the estimation of the boys ; they lower the latter to an equality with them. Mere authority, as law and might and system, has no right to passions. Wisdom, on the other hand, may be angry and sin not.

3. The third danger to which the captain-master is subject is over-severity in punishment. This danger arises when he has already yielded to the temptation to confound his own personality with the authority which he wields only as a delegate of the moral law, and which he is not, but only represents. His only means of enforcing discipline being the production of physical pain, there are no limits to the inflictions he may impose if his personal passions are once aroused. He can become even vindictive.

4. The fourth danger is a concomitant of perfect coolness and self-control, and consists in his becoming the slave of his own rules, mistaking rules for morality, and so confounding all ethical distinctions. This is a common weakness of women when placed in a position of command. All offences become alike heinous, because all break some rule. It is by this rule that offences are measured. Authority is thus transmuted into pedantry.

I might now go on to describe other kinds of masters, but the two classes with which I have been dealing are the chief classes, of which all others are modifications. The weaknesses which beset each of these two classes constitute fresh sub-types when

they become permanent. Under the first class, for example, falls the sub-type or variety—the sympathetic master, he who merges all authority in sympathy ; and this, carried beyond certain limits, gives the anarchical master, who is no master at all. Under the second head, again, we have the tyrant master (like Dr. Keate of Eton), who makes a moral desert and calls it peace, the pedantic master, and the corporal master or martinet, with all of whom external order is the highest and sole result, as it is, indeed, the sole aim. It is enough, however, to indicate these distinctions.

Let us consider now for a little the effect on boys of the defects of different kinds of masters.

To carry out in detail the parallel of the effect which each kind of master has upon different kinds of boys, would be a long, though by no means a tedious or unprofitable work. Many and subtle are the influences which mould character. Nor are these exercises in analytic psychology unworthy of the attention of schoolmasters. They convert the life of the mere teacher into the life of the educator and the student of practical psychology. They deepen, at the same time that they broaden, his conceptions of his task; and invest a subject, otherwise barren, and even to some minds repelling, with the perennial charm of philosophy. They transform a mere teacher into an educator. They throw the light of the highest reason, and the warmth of the life of humanity, on his daily

work, which is thus no longer task-work, but, spite of all its drawbacks, the pleasantest as well as the noblest work in which a man in these days can be engaged.

Omitting much, then, I would merely at present point out the danger that attends the proper spiritual growth of boys under that species of the wise master who, through the influence of his sympathetic nature, has a disposition to place too great a reliance on the emotions and moral sentiments of his charge. By so doing, as I have said, he obscures the idea of authority, and to that extent weakens his own power, and softens the moral fibre of his pupil. You will find that the purely sympathetic master tends to enfeeble all those boys who live by authority, and are supported by it, and all more or less are dependent on authority. They have their natures disturbed ; an inner anarchy begins to set itself up in their minds ; their mainstay—law—is gone, and emotions, sentiments, ideas, on which the sympathetic master relies, are no substitutes for them. Even the boy of finest breed is, I hold, injured ; for he, as well as the boy who depends on praise, is in special need of the discipline which the recognition of mere authority as such gives. When that is relaxed, he is left to himself, and may become moody and isolated, or if there be too much moralizing and appeal on the part of the master, his loyal nature, in the attempt to rise to the moral call made on him, strains itself, and becomes mature before its time ; and thus while a boy is yet in his teens, you

have the most disagreeable of all spectacles, which is described by Göethe as a mature judgment in an unripe mind. Where there is at the same time a tendency to self-sufficingness in the mind of the boy, you have the more offensive exhibition of the same moral vices, accompanied by what is called priggishness.

Now, without entering here on that interesting subject—the moral analysis of a prig—I would merely say that every other kind of boy has the possible making of a man in him ; but the prig has to be unmade and taken to pieces, as it were, and made up afresh, before he can be an example of a man. He is narrow and arid, and the human outcome is not pleasing. He is the true moral Philistine.

What now is the mental attitude of the different kinds of boys to the captain-master, who falls into the sin which most besets him—arbitrariness and its concomitant severity ? He rules by fear and pain alone. The self-sufficing boy is quick enough to see the necessity of walking warily, and will probably escape penalties ; but in what respect is his moral nature affected ? Is it not the case that the exhibition of this arbitrariness and severity strengthens in him his own vice of character ? Here before him is the man whom his parents, supported by the action of many other parents, have selected as the guide of his youth, the model of his future manhood. The master has his turn now, but in a few years the pupil's turn will come ; and, meanwhile, the little monster repeats

among younger boys in the playground and dormitory the lesson which the master himself has already taught.

That other boy, again, who is dependent on affection, sympathy, and praise, leads, in such circumstances, a wretched life, for when not bullied by his master, he is bullied by the bigger boys, who expend on him the latent irritation which the system of the school engenders.

That third boy, again, whose sense of submission to authority is the guiding principle, suffers least in personal comfort ; but he tends to become a slave and a sneak, and we all know what a slave is when he is turned inside out—in other words, when the emancipated boy becomes a man.

The loyal boy, the boy of finest breed, if he is by nature strong, adapts himself, as best he may, to the system under which he lives, perceiving in his master, in a half-conscious way, for it does not take the form of speech, all that he himself ought not to be. Thereby he is negatively educated. If his inner strength be not great, either because of his tender years or native want of fibre, even he is taught to skulk, evade, and hate. He is at war, in brief, with his master, and his very moral salvation lies in those rebellious feelings which he rightly cherishes against his governor.

Meanwhile, where this arbitrary ruler governs, the whole school is, as a matter of fact, divided into hostile camps—the governor on one side, and the subjects on the other. To deceive a master, to evade him,

nay, even to lie to him, to show up false exercises, to call him names when he is not present, to take it out of him in any way which may suggest itself to the ingenious and irreverent minds of boys, are all recognized as part of the school institution, on the principle that all is fair in love and war. And can we fairly blame the boys? Ought we not rather to see in this passive rebellion—or, if active, active only in separate acts, not in combined resistance—the hope of the salvation of the boys? The youths of a high-spirited nation, like the British, will not, nay, ought not, to submit to arbitrary despotism based on physical coercion. They must find some outlet for their protest, and so long as they do not tell lies—simply keep clear of lies—I for one applaud them. The whole system proceeds on the assumption that there are two codes—a masters' code and a boys' code—of school morality ; nay, the more sagacious of the masters, who accept the system as the only one they feel their capacity to work, deliberately wink hard at breaches of school order. Nay, they *must* wink hard ; and I need not refer you to your Latin to let you know the connection between the mild physical act of winking and the moral offence of conniving. There should, it seems to me, be only one code, one faith, one school.

That the history of school-keeping is not enriched (I say deliberately, enriched) with a greater number of cases of open rebellion is explained by the fact that boys are ignorant and do not know how far their

mere feelings and emotions are right as opposed to the tyranny above them, partly to the want of power of combination in the young. The practical deduction from what I have just been saying is, that boys are not always wrong, and masters are not always right.

It may appear that in all I have said I have had in view the master of an English public school, where the head is not only teacher but rector and parent—the prophet, priest, and king of a community. So far this is true; but the difference between the head-master of such a school and the master of a day school is not in the ends at which they should respectively aim, the spirit in which they should work, or the methods which they should pursue. Nor are the remarks that have been made less applicable to a parent, with this difference only, that he may lean much more to the sympathetic and the tender than becomes the wise master, because he is the constant source of all the happiness as well as the unhappiness of the family, and has thus a control of the child's emotions and will which it is impossible for the master of many to have. His opportunities, too, of individualizing and of allowing for idiosyncrasies of character are great, and this a master of many can only very partially do.

In conclusion, I would say to the master of a day school or of a class, who doubts the reality of his moral power over those whom he has for a portion only of every day, "Do not underrate your influence.

It is radiating from you on every side, and is simply incalculable in its possible effects. Work on the side of the ethical forces in the spirit of the wise master, and they will declare for you and help you when and where you least expect. Nothing is lost, least of all true moral power."

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

1



SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

IT has occurred to me that in the present crisis of primary education, a sketch of the history of the Education Department, however slight, may be instructive as well as interesting. I need scarcely say that I refer only to the educational and not to the political history of the Department.

Treasury grants were first made for the promotion of education in 1833. In 1839 a Committee of Privy Council on education was formed and entrusted with the administration of any grants that Parliament might make in aid of education.

When Parliament, in 1839, first voted £30,000 to be expended by a Privy Council Committee, with the Lord President as its head, and a permanent secretary (Sir J. P. K. Shuttleworth) as its arm, the only course which suggested itself was to distribute this money in such a manner as to aid the two societies which then represented organized educational effort in England —the National Society, in connection with the Church

of England, and the British and Foreign School Society. This was done in the form of grants towards the erection of normal schools, in which teachers might be trained, of contributions to the erection of school buildings where there were local subscriptions, and of small grants towards the maintenance of such schools only as were affiliated to the above-named societies. At the same time, the right of inspection was in all cases reserved, and the present system of inspection initiated. This was in June and September, 1839. But as early as December following, the claims which were made on the Council office necessitated a more liberal interpretation of its functions. A Minute was accordingly issued, in which the admission of schools under special circumstances, even where not connected with the two societies, was fully recognized, their lordships only requiring to be informed of the grounds on which objection was made "to connecting the intended school with the National Society, or the British and Foreign School Society." Then at once emerged the religious difficulty, and their lordships had to steer a course requiring some experience in moral and spiritual navigation. Through deference to the declared will of the country the following half-way position was taken up :—

Resolved, "That . . . their Lordships will limit their aid to those cases in which proof is given of great deficiency of education for the poorer classes in the district, of vigorous efforts having been made by the inhabitants to provide funds, and of the indis-

pensable need of further assistance ; and to those cases in which competent provision will be made for the instruction of the children in the school—the daily reading of a portion of the Scriptures forming part of such instruction.

“ The Committee will further give a preference to schools in which the religious instruction will be of the same character as that given in schools in connection with one or other of the above-named Societies ; and to those in which the school committee or trustees, while they provide for the daily reading of the Scriptures in the school, do not enforce any rule by which the children will be compelled to learn a catechism or attend a place of Divine worship to which their parents on religious grounds object.”
(3rd December, 1839).

Religious instruction, in so far as Bible reading was concerned, was thus secured, while the liberty of parents to object to the catechetical, without forfeiting the general, instruction, was recognized. It is necessary to observe, however, that so far as Church of England Schools were concerned, this rule was subject to modification. The managers were simply *allowed* by the authorities, with consent of the diocesan, to admit children who did not attend the Church of England, and who did not accept its catechetical instruction. Few religious parties could be wholly satisfied with their lordships’ Minute, but none could have solid ground for complaint.

Passing over the extension of the grants to the

normal schools in connection with the Church of Scotland, we come to the delicate question of inspection. This subject, after some discussion, received settlement in a manner satisfactory to all parties. By the Order in Council, August, 1840, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were to be consulted, each for his own province, before the recommendation to her Majesty of any inspector of Church of England schools, and they were further empowered to suggest names. Moreover, they were permitted at any time to withdraw their concurrence, and thus to cancel an appointment, and to draw up instructions to the inspectors having reference to religious teaching, etc. Arrangements of a similar nature were afterwards made with other societies, it being arranged that the Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Established and Free Churches should be consulted before appointing inspectors for Scotland, and that in the case of schools not connected with the Church of England, the British and Foreign and the Wesleyan Committees should have a like privilege.

The framework of the system was now constructed : the main difficulties were overcome. Future action consisted in the distribution of money in the most prudent way ; and in doing this the recipients at least might be safely calculated on as aiders and abettors of Downing Street ; and even hostile fingers might be expected in time to relax, and accept the offered bribe. The expectation was not a vain one. It soon became necessary to facilitate the working of the

machine by constructing those regulations for the erection and maintenance of schools, and those trust-deeds for the conveyance of the school-property for educational purposes, with their managers' clauses, which, combined, attained in the course of years to a manifoldness and complication which were the horror of the amateur educator, and even defied the penetration of the most patient member of the "House." It is necessary to a historical survey that we state these conditions in a few words.

Grants had all along been made for school-buildings, and for the maintenance of schools. By the Minute of November, 1843, they were extended to school-furniture, teaching apparatus, and teachers' residences. The Privy Council, in the same Minute, specially guarded themselves against aiding normal schools, except in the shape of building grants. These, however, were liberal, being at the rate of £50 for every pupil, for whom it was proposed to provide accommodation. The rate and mode of aid, though in all cases made dependent on local effort, were not, up to this point, it will be observed, definitely fixed, so far as elementary schools were concerned; and already their lordships began to experience pressure proceeding from poor and populous localities, where might be found the worst classes of the population, but in whose behalf no local subscriber could be got to act, because few or no capable subscribers were found to exist. As we shall have to recur to this most important feature of the subject, we may

advantageously quote here the Minute of November, 1843, issued to meet exceptional cases.

"Their Lordships are prepared to give full effect to that portion of the order of the 3rd of June, 1839, which contemplates the making of larger grants towards the erection of schools in poor and populous places than are required elsewhere; and they will in all cases whatever, consider the amount of grant to be made without reference to the plan of any proposed school having been drawn by their architect."

No legislation of any importance characterized the next three years of the Privy Council administration.* The only point deserving notice, was the gradual but rapid increase of Parliamentary grants. For, silently, schools in receipt of aid were multiplying, and the Committee were doing their work of extending, as well as improving, popular education.

The first urgent necessities being met, two questions forced themselves into notice: first, the importance of securing a higher class of teachers than those then employed; secondly, the importance of providing, at a small outlay, for schools largely attended, without engaging additional adult assistants. The monitorial system, so much insisted on by Bell and Lancaster in the previous generation, suggested an idea which would attain both the above objects at once, and which lay at the basis of the Minutes of 1846, from which the existing system practically dates,

* If we except the "Minute on Methods of Teaching" issued in 1844.

so far as the *majority* of the recipients of the public money are concerned. By these Minutes, managers were allowed to select promising boys and girls of thirteen years of age, and apprentice them to the teacher (of the male or female school, as the case might be), to be trained by teaching to the art of teaching, their own progress in elementary knowledge being secured by requiring that for an hour and a half each day, they should receive special instruction from the master or mistress of the school. A programme or scheme of study was drawn out, which has been from time to time modified and defined, but which stands essentially where it did in 1846. The requirements during the last year of the apprenticeship, in other words, the examination for admission to the normal colleges, sufficiently explain the course of study pursued. These were :—Reading and writing, expected both to be of good quality; composition of an essay on some subject connected with the art of teaching; problems in arithmetic: two books of Euclid; algebra to the end of simple equations, America and the oceans (the other portions of the globe having in previous years formed subject of examination); outlines of British history; the Holy Scriptures; liturgy and catechism; free-hand drawing and shading of natural objects from memory, and the elements of the theory of music.

It was next necessary for their lordships to anticipate the conclusion of the apprenticeship, and to devise means of securing the apprentices to the public

service as teachers in elementary schools. The difficulty of maintaining the normal schools, which had been instituted, had also been urged on the Privy Council, and the scheme still substantially in operation was devised. By this it was arranged that those young men and women, who successfully passed the fifth year's examination, should be allowed Queen's scholarships, of the value of £23 * in the case of males, and £17 in the case of females, and that those who, at the end of each year's training, passed a satisfactory examination, should receive certificates of merit entitling the holder, when appointed to an elementary school, to augmentation grants varying from £15 to £30 per annum, and somewhat less in the case of mistresses. The amount allowed was to be determined by the grade of certificate obtained, and was made dependent on certain conditions as to school premises, and on the receipt from other sources of a sum twice the amount of the Government grant, one-half of which was to be in the form of voluntary contribution from the school-managers. For each of the students who was thus carried through the year's course, and who obtained a certificate, the Privy Council resolved to pay to the authorities of the normal college sums varying from £13 to £24 in the case of males, and two-thirds of these sums in the case of females.† Thus every normal school for each student boarded

* The sum fluctuated, but for some years it stood as above.

† We give the average rates, and we omit the allowances for third year's students, as these have been practically inoperative.

and educated receives from Government an average of £40 for males, and £30 in the case of females.

The Minutes bearing on elementary and on normal schools, though originally kept apart, were now practically merged : the two institutions were now properly regarded as different parts of the same system.

Prior to this, the statement of "special circumstances" in the case of schools applying for public aid, but which were not in a position to affiliate themselves to the National or British and Foreign School Societies, was dispensed with (28th of June, 1847), and the sole grounds of admission to a share in the Parliamentary grant, became—adequate premises, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures or extracts therefrom in school—the religious peculiarities of the parents being reserved and guarded, as formerly stated, except in the case of National Society (Church of England) schools, where grants might be obtained though the general instruction should include catechetical in *all* cases, and might be accompanied with enforced attendance at the parish church. The managers of these schools; however, were allowed, as we have already stated, to make exceptions, with the concurrence of the diocesan.*

The religious principle limiting the area of the Government grants was further strained by the admission of Roman Catholic schools in 1847. The inspectors of such schools were subject to the approval of that body, and, as in the case of Nonconformist

* See Sir J. P. K. Shuttleworth's letter of 17th April, 1847.

schools, they were not *required* to report on the religious instruction, but might simply state that it was given. In December, 1851, a further step was taken, and Jewish schools were admitted to participation. Accordingly, *quoad religion*, the case then substantially stood thus : Any elementary school, taught by a certificated teacher, might claim a portion of the Parliamentary grant, on the inspector being satisfied that the school-buildings were adequate, the instruction and discipline sufficiently good, and that religious instruction was given ; the Privy Council being satisfied with the modest allowance of a portion of certain extracts from the Old Testament, it might be, in the Douay version. Nay more, if the managers, on religious grounds, refused to report that religious instruction was given, the Minute of July, 1847, protected them.

Assuredly the conscience of the State was an elastic one, and it may be a matter of surprise that their lordships should have clung so tenaciously to this last shred of religious principle, and refused to recognize schools in which secular instruction, along with moral instruction, was conveyed. With all respect, we think the country found itself in a very absurd position, and one not permanently tenable.

We have passed over the resolution to make grants to schools of books and maps, gratuities to teachers for instructing pupil-apprentices, the Minute of 1851 regarding superannuations, and the establishment of Knellar Hall training-school for pauper-school

masters (which afterwards went to the ground), because these and many other points, though important in themselves, do not enter into the plan of this survey, the main object of which is to sketch the history, not to chronicle the acts, of the Department, and to state the case as it at present stands.

The reader has now before him a general view of the principles of our national system of education up to 1862, with one notable exception (the Capitation Minute), which will immediately form the subject of remark; and he will see, that while holding to the original idea of only helping those who help themselves, "my lords" had been compelled by gradual pressure to extend and to expand in other directions beyond their first intention.

At the date which we have reached in this sketch, the *lowest* class of male schools in receipt of Government aid for their maintenance would have shown the following annual financial statement:—

Augmentation	£15
Salary required to meet this augmentation	15
Fees	15
Payment of pupil teacher	15
Gratuity to the master for teaching the pupil teacher	5
Value of dwelling-house, say	10
	<hr/>
	£75
For books and apparatus,* say	10
	<hr/>
Total	£85

Thus, the minimum Government grant to small male schools, with an attendance of, say, sixty pupils,

* Where books and apparatus were claimed.

and taking full advantage of the Minutes, would be £45. A female school would show on the whole about £6 or £7 less of Government money. The average emoluments of teachers were much higher than that above indicated. We have selected the case of a school which, at the 1862 stage of the Minutes, received as little as was compatible with its being recognized by the State at all.

Up to 1849 their lordships had been indebted to Sir J. P. K. Shuttleworth for the energy and administrative talent which enabled them to steer their way skilfully through so many storms, and to accommodate themselves to such shoals and hidden rocks as could not be avoided. The management was now transferred to Mr. Lingen,* who seems to have early felt the increasing claims of that class of schools in connection with which no local contributions could be obtained, and which, in consequence of their very poverty—a poverty which for the most part was also the measure of their ignorance—were excluded from Government recognition, thus most truly illustrating, in one sense, the text, that “from him who hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath.” We have shown that from the initiation of the Privy Council scheme this class of schools had been an insurmountable obstacle in the way of a fixed and inflexible system of administration, and the fact was, that under the name of “self-supporting” schools they were frequently allowed to participate. To work a

* Now Sir R. R. W. Lingen, permanent secretary of the Treasury.

code, however, which had an exceptional clause of so large and indefinite a character must have been difficult; a clause which every year, through fear of an unjust estimate of local capabilities, must have tended to infuse a certain amount of vacillation into the application of the dominant principle of the administration. About the same time the reports of the inspectors had brought to light the weak points in our primary school system; namely, the irregularity of the attendance, and the early age at which children were withdrawn from school. Accordingly, to supply the need of schools in poor but populous localities, and by the same act to encourage more regular attendance in so far as that could be effected through the efforts of school-managers and teachers, it was resolved (April, 1853) to grant to schools in such districts an average of 5s. per head for every scholar who had attended 176 days in the course of the year ending at the date of inspection.* The managers were required to expend at least seven-tenths of the whole school income, including the grant, on the salary of the teacher and assistant, if such there was; and the strict requirements as regarded buildings, etc., made in all those cases where *augmentation of salary* was claimed, as under the Minutes up to that date in force, were somewhat relaxed. One condition, however, operated so as to perpetuate the exclusion of the poorest schools, while admitting many others which did not quite fall under this category, namely, that

* The details are omitted.

which required that the "income of the school in the preceding year from endowments, subscriptions, collections, and school-pence shall have amounted to 14*s.* per scholar in schools for boys, and 12*s.** in schools for girls, without including the annual value of the teacher's house or other school-buildings." A large number of those schools which were already in receipt of book and apparatus grants, augmentation grants to the teacher, stipends to pupil teachers and gratuities to the masters for teaching them, at once hailed this golden advantage, and sent in their claims. Hence it arose that the Capitation Minute was abused: (1.) By the admission of the claims of schools already in receipt of a sufficient amount of public aid. (2.) By managers taking advantage of the clause which recognized seven-tenths of the capitation grant as voluntary contribution, and substituting this for what would otherwise, by a little exertion, have been paid out of their own pockets, and which they would have been well able to pay.† Government money thus became too often a mere *substitute for local effort.* A rule intended to meet exceptional cases, threatened to overgrow the fundamental principle on which the public money had been hitherto expended—the principle that it was only a "grant in aid." Nor can it be said that the evil and anomaly which the Capitation Minute was intended to remove

* This condition to be fulfilled only in the case of those for whom grants were claimable.

† This clause "was enabling only, not obligatory."

were more than palliated by its operation. Assuredly, the good done was, in the opinion of many of those most competent to judge, quite counterbalanced by the too great reliance on the public purse for which this Minute gave the opportunity, or rather which it invited. The Minute of July, 1857, which allowed the capitation grant to be expended without reference to the allocation of seven-tenths of the school income to the salary of the teacher, was in its effect a further concession to the pockets of school managers, at the same time that it was a step towards local management. All were aware that capitation grants were intended for needy schools only. The Minute "was enabling only, not obligatory." But to consider each case on its own merits would have been a task beyond the reach of any department however large. The inevitable consequence was, as any one may see by consulting the Appendix to the Blue-book for 1861, that the same schools were in receipt of all kinds of aid at once. While augmentation money reached £98,000, in 1860, the capitation grants amounted to £63,000. It was impossible to administer fairly to the country any system which was based on two collateral and conflicting principles of action ; the one requiring voluntary effort, the other encouraging its absence. As things stood, in 1860, an average school, it might be in a wealthy locality, with an attendance of only eighty children, might be in receipt of augmentation grant, say £20 ; stipends to pupil teachers, £30 ; gratuities to master for instructing them, £9 ;

book grants, etc., say £12 ; capitation grant, say £12 ; fees, say £20 ; local contributions only, it *may* be, £11 or £12 more, seven-tenths of the capitation grant being substituted by the managers for what would otherwise have been their own subscriptions ; £83 of the school income thus proceeding from Government, and £12 at most from local sources : and this, be it observed, in a locality more than competent to pay for the education of its own operative population. At the same time a poor school, struggling in some squalid court or populous lane, could not qualify for one penny of aid.

Such was the position of the Committee of Privy Council in 1861, their expenditure taking two great channels : grants to normal colleges, including the exhibitions called Queen's scholarships ; and grants to elementary schools, falling under the various heads of building grants, grants in augmentation of salary, stipends to pupil teachers, gratuities to masters for instructing them, book grants, and capitation grants.

In that year, the total expenditure by the Privy Council, under all heads, was £813,441 16s. od., of which £495,471 os. 8d. was paid to Church of England schools, and upwards of £100,000 was expended in Scotland.

To simplify the above complicated method of administering the public money, which caused too great a strain on the central office, to correct the errors which experience had detected, and to attain other objects which we shall advert to presently, the

Revised Code was issued on the 9th of May, 1862, under the auspices of Lord Granville, Mr. Lowe, and Mr. (now Sir R. R. W.) Lingen. Prior to its preparation a Royal Commission under the Duke of Newcastle, had reported at great length on the state of popular education, and on the working of the Privy Council office. Their discoveries entirely confirmed the opinions of those practically acquainted with popular education in England and Wales. The evils that had to be remedied might be summed up as follows :

1. The proportion of public money flowing into the coffers of those schools, which, though situated in wealthy districts, were in receipt of public money in all its different forms, had to be lessened. At the same time the poorest schools claimed, or rather demanded, recognition and encouragement. The impossibility of treating every case on its own individual merits made it impracticable to have two principles of administration working side by side, the one enforcing, the other dispensing with, local effort.

2. The results of popular education had been disappointing. Poor children whose time at school was limited, were turned out, unable to read, write, or cipher in any serviceable way. Of this there could be no doubt. The teachers were not ignorant of their duties, but they certainly directed too much time to instruction in those branches which, though important in themselves, were less essential to the children of the labouring population.

3. Pupil teachers were in some parts of the country underpaid, in others overpaid.

4. Irregularity of attendance seemed to be an insurmountable obstacle in the way of popular education.

5. The Council office had direct and personal relations with each of the ten thousand schools on its list—relations of a twofold, threefold, fourfold, and even fivefold character, as the case might be, according to the various kinds of payment enumerated above. No central body could continue to discharge the parochial business of the country. That must be discharged *parochially*.

6. Many who endeavoured to take a wide view of national education, and had read the lesson which other countries had taught them, dreaded the rapid growth of an educational bureau, which from year to year was manufacturing teachers according to its own pattern—a pattern which had some twice or thrice already changed its colours—and was directing the internal economy of schools even to the pettiest details. They saw in this an element of danger to the country, the sapping of its self-reliance, and the enfeebling of that spontaneous vitality which had always characterized the inhabitants of this island. The necessity for the interposition of the educated and governing classes, in all matters pertaining to the intellectual and moral condition of the masses, was freely admitted so far as *legislation* was concerned, but not in the form of a standing central *executive*, which was endowed with practically legislative functions.

How was the remedy for all these evils to be found at once? This was the question which their lordships had to answer, and they answered it by the Revised Code. That they should be bound in perpetuity to all the details of a scheme struck out in the infancy of a department, it would have been preposterous to expect. Having given it a fair trial, their duty was to remedy the acknowledged defects. To transact the business of every village school in Downing Street was as impracticable as it was undesirable. This great and growing evil had to be checked; and, by the same act, those interested by residence and property in the various districts were to be taught, before it was too late, to feel that *they* were mainly responsible for the superintendence of the education of the young, and to be urged, for their own advantage, as well as for that of the classes below them, to give this wholesome direction to their philanthropy or sense of duty. The State could not continue a system by which it afforded a substitute for both the money and the management of every parish.

The course adopted in order to attain these ends might not have been the wisest possible, but we maintain that it was no violent innovation. It was neither more nor less than the Capitation Minute of 1853, as modified in 1857, so extended that *one single payment to each school should represent all the former allowances which were distributed under the separate and perplexing heads of augmentation, stipends, gratuities, book grant, apparatus, capitation.* One annual

grant was now to be made on account of each school, payable to the managers, who were to be not fewer than three in number. The money so received was to be expended by them for the maintenance of the school in the way which seemed to them most beneficial; a power, be it observed, already conceded, and a responsibility already imposed, *in respect of the capitation grants.** The managers were to make their own bargain with their teacher, the Privy Council only requiring that, as the number of children attending increased, additional teachers should be engaged—one for every thirty children (*enrolled*) above fifty, and that these teachers should be certified or probationary, except in the case of pupil teachers who were to be recognized as assistants.

The new principle whereby the objects of State aid were to be secured, and the remaining defects of the existing system remedied, was *payment for results*—results in respect of quality of teaching and regularity of attendance. The managers of schools might claim (Art. 40) 1*d.* for every attendance, after the first one hundred days, at the morning or afternoon meetings, and after the first twelve at the evening meetings, of their schools, within the year. Attendances under half-time Acts might be multiplied by two to make up the preliminary number. One-third part of the sum thus claimable was forfeited if the scholars failed to satisfy the inspector in reading, one-third if in

* Minutes, 1857.

writing, and one-third if in arithmetic, respectively, according to Article 44.*

To many this "payment for results" seemed to be a bad and unfair principle of administration, and by almost all it was treated as an innovation. The latter view, however, was erroneous. The capitation minute already referred to contained a distinct provision to the same effect, viz. :—

"That three-fourths of the scholars above seven and under nine years of years, three-fourths of those above nine and under eleven, and three-fourths of those above eleven and under thirteen respectively, pass such an examination before her Majesty's inspector or assistant-inspector, as shall be set forth in a separate minute of details." †

Nay more, the grouping *according to age*, which justly formed so strong a subject of complaint, was to a large extent enjoined on the inspectors in the circular letter of 20th August, 1853, which accompanied the Capitation Minute. It is true that these portions of the Minute had been almost, if not wholly, inoperative ; but the fact of their early introduction into the existing system, taken in conjunction with the historical sequence of events which we have shortly sketched, prevents our characterizing the Revised Code as revolutionary.

Before leaving the historical relation which the

* This Article also specified the standard required in the various sections of the school.

† Condition 8, Minutes, 1852-53.

Revised Code holds to past Minutes, we would advert for a moment to the new attitude in which their lordships were supposed to have placed themselves with regard to the question of *Religious Instruction*. It is necessary to turn back a few pages and consider the position into which the Committee had been inevitably led before it had been many years in existence, in the attempt to distribute the Parliamentary grant impartially in aid of every kind of efficient voluntary effort for the education of the people. A report that the Bible was read in a school, with the important modifications that the Douay version was admitted in Roman Catholic, and the New Testament excluded from Jewish schools, was accepted as adequate religious qualification for participation in the grant. We do not think that this principle of administration could be regarded in any other light than as a miserable shift for the purpose of meeting exigencies which one by one arose. But that the Revised Code still maintained the same requirement, as the indispensable condition of aid, is sufficiently evident from Article 8, which runs as follows :—

“Every school assisted from the Grant must be either (a) A school connected with some recognized religious denomination ; or, (b) A school in which, besides secular instruction, the Scriptures are read daily from the authorized version.”

Nor did the fact that payments were to be henceforth made in return for results, affect this question. For by Articles 49, 50, 51, and 52, the inspector was

required, if words have any meaning, not merely to estimate the discipline of the school but also to examine into the instruction given over and above the actual attainment in the three essential subjects. The first additional subject to which he would direct his attention would be, as formerly, religious instruction ; and this article gave him the power, if he found this and other subjects not in his schedule untaught or badly taught, to cut off "not less than one-tenth nor more than one-half the grant" claimed. If religion, therefore, was pushed into a corner in our schools, it was not the fault of their lordships, but of the school-managers themselves ; in other words, of the clergy. It did not at all affect the question that subscription schools, hitherto received under the elastic denomination "British," were now to be admitted under the title "Undenominational." This was simply a way of providing headings for official letters, which should preclude misunderstanding.

The full recognition and encouragement of evening-schools was another benefit proposed to be conferred by the Revised Code, and might here, along with the questions of "Breach of Faith," "Free Trade, in Teaching," "Lowering of the Educational Standard," receive consideration, were it worth our while to take up questions now of little practical moment.*

While sympathizing with the objects which the

* The instructions to inspectors issued in September, 1862, aimed at maintaining a high standard of education, but they at once broke down under the influence of "payment for results."

Code sought to secure, we do not defend the way in which it sought to attain them. There were many sound objections to the Code, the chief of which was that from first to last it misapprehended the meaning of the word education. And what could be said in defence of those regulations, whereby pupil-teachers were declared competent to conduct a school without any professional training, and those, again, whereby high attainment in teachers was positively discouraged? That direct measures should have been taken to *discourage* high qualifications in teachers was false in policy and perverse in principle.

On the representations of teachers and others, certain modifications were made in the Revised Code from time to time, but these were all of a very subordinate character and did not affect the principle and substance of the document. The "Lowe Code" accordingly governed education in England and practically also in Scotland (though not formally applied to the latter country) up to the passing of "the English Education Act of 1870 and thereafter." After a reign of more than ten years, Mr. Lowe's throne began to totter, and, under the influence of the awakening caused by Mr. Forster's Act in England, and Lord Young's Act in Scotland, it was subverted.

The English Act of 1870 gave Parliamentary sanction to all future Minutes of the Education Department (formerly Lords of the Committee of Privy Council on Education) by section 97. The chief change effected by the Act itself, but one to which

the actual practice of the Department almost inevitably led, was introduced by a condition inserted in the clause just referred to, that no grant was to be made "in respect of any instruction in religious subjects," a condition of grants which was also extended to training colleges for masters and mistresses. Whereas formerly no grant could be given when religious instruction was omitted, it was now enacted that no grant would be given on account of religious instruction—a very significant change. Although such instruction was not proscribed, it is quite fair to say that it was now discouraged by the State.

The improved educational spirit which began to animate the action of the Department, showed itself at once in Art. 21 of the Code of 1871, now called the "New Code." By this article, grants were made on account of instruction in other subjects than reading, writing, and arithmetic. These other subjects were called "specific subjects," and in the relative schedule, they were said to be "Geography, History, Grammar, Algebra, Geometry, Natural Philosophy, Physical Geography, the Natural Sciences, Political Economy, Languages or *any* definite subject of instruction extending over the classes to be examined in Standards IV., V., and VI., and taught according to a graduated scheme," etc. A great opportunity was at this time lost of reconstructing the whole of primary instruction on an educational basis. A Council of education, even of a temporary character, would have laid down what was essential to the education of

the masses of the people on broad lines and rendered unnecessary the subsequent ten years of laborious groping after some rational programme. The ignorance of the subject of education prevailing at headquarters was doubtless the cause of the feebleness shown in the critical years of 1871-72. The dread which the English mind has of principles makes it fight shy of "theory." It prefers to wander about aimlessly, and to sneak into the temple of education by all sorts of back doors rather than confidently ascend the front steps. In Code after Code modifications have been made to meet legitimate demands as they arose, the greater number of these modifications being in the right direction. The most important of them was the introduction of "class-examination" in certain subjects as opposed to individual examination, and the giving of special grants for "intelligence" and "discipline." The general grants were now made on the average attendance and the individual passes of the pupils without regard to local contributions.

The next important movement in the history of the Department dates from the appointment of Mr. Mundella to the vice-presidency. Mr. Mundella signed his first report in June, 1881, and from that date till now has never ceased to study the position of affairs. Last autumn he laid before Parliament certain "Proposals," which, taken along with the improvement of the training college syllabus under the head of "Methods of Teaching," mark a new departure in policy. These proposals I refer to in a paper in this

volume on the "Educational Wants of Scotland." Thus, after passing through the tentative epoch in national education which ended in 1861 and was signalized by the institution of the pupil teacher system and training colleges, the Department entered on what may be fairly called the Philistine epoch of Mr. Lowe which gave way to the well-meaning epoch of Mr. Forster in 1871, now happily evolved into the educational epoch under Mr. Mundella.

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